

THE
British Plutarch;
OR,
BIOGRAPHICAL ENTERTAINER.

Being a SELECT COLLECTION of
 — The LIVES at large
 Of the most EMINENT MEN,
Natives of Great Britain and Ireland;
 From the Reign of HENRY VIII. to GEORGE II.

Both inclusive.

— *Whether distinguished as* — $\frac{253}{E}$
 Statesmen, | Warriors, | Poets,
 Patriots, | Divines, | Philosophers.

Adorned with COPPER PLATES)

VOL. VI.



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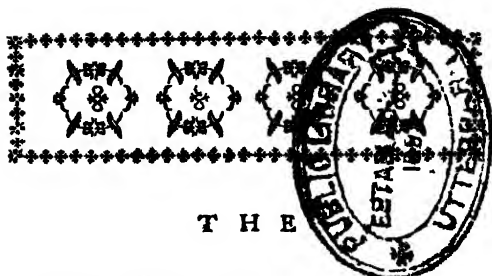
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Archbishop, Laud.



T H E
BRITISH PLUTARCH



T H E L I F E O F
W I L L I A M L A U D.

WILLIAM LAUD, archbishop of Canterbury, in the sixteenth century, was son of William Laud, a clothier of Reading, in Berkshire, by Lucia his wife, widow of Mr. John Robinson, of Reading, and sister of Sir William Webb, lord-mayor of London in 1591.

He was born at Reading, October the seventh 1573, and educated in the free school there; and in July 1589, went to Oxford; and in June the year following, was elected scholar of St. John's college there, under the tuition of Dr. John Buckeridge.

In June 1593^{*}, he was made a fellow of that college; and on the first of July, in the year following, took the degree of batchelor of arts; and, on June the twenty sixth 1598, that of master of arts, being grammar-reader that year. January the fourth 1609, he was ordained deacon; and on April the fifth 1601, priest: both which orders were conferred upon upon him by Dr. Young, bishop of Rochester.

In 1602, he read a divinity lecture in St. John's college, which was maintained by Mrs. Mag. May the fourth 1603, he was chosen proclor of the university of Oxford; and September the third following was made chaplain to Charles Blound earl of Devonshire. July the sixth 1604, he took the degree of batchelor of divinity.

December the twenty-sixth 1605, he married the earl of Devonshire to Penelope, then wife of Robert, lord Rich; which action afterwards gave him the most sensible regret.

October the twenty-first 1606, he preached a sermon at St. Mary's at Oxford, for which he was questioned by Dr. Airy, the vice-chancellor. November the thirteenth 1607, he was inducted into the vicarage of Stanford, in Northamptonshire; and in April the year following, was made chaplain to Dr. Richard Neile, then bishop of Rochester. September the seventeenth 1609, he preached his first sermon before the king at Theobald's; and in October following, exchanged his advow-
-son

son of North-Kilworth, for the rectory of West-Tilbury in Essex, in order to be near his patron bishop Neile, who, in May 1610, gave him the rectory of Cuckstone in Kent. October the second following, he resigned his fellowship of St. John's college in Oxford.

Finding the air of Cuckstone prejudicial to him, he exchanged it for the living of Norton; into which he was inducted in November 1610, by proxy.

About Christmas the same year, the lord-chancellor Ellesmere complained against him to the king, at the instigation of Dr. Abbot, archbishop elect. May the tenth 1611, he was elected president of St. John's college; but his election being called in question, it was at last confirmed by his majesty. The same year, on the third of November, he was sworn the king's chaplain. April the eighteenth 1601, Dr. Neile, then bishop of Lincoln, gave him the prebend of Bugden; and December the first 1615, conferred upon him the archdeaconry of Huntingdon. In November 1616, he was advanced by his majesty to the deanery of Gloucester, and attended him towards Scotland, from whence he returned a little before him in 1617.

He resigned his living of West-Tilbury, and was inducted into that of Ibstock, in Leicestershire, on the second of August 1617. January the twenty-second 1620, he was installed prebendary of Westminster, having had the advowson of it ten years the November be-

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fore. June the twenty-ninth 1621, the king gave him the grant of the bishopric of St. David's; to which see he was chosen on the tenth of October following, and resigned the presidentship of St. John's college on the seventeenth of November.

Shortly after, he contracted an intimacy with George Villiers, then marquiss of Buckingham; before whom, and the countess his mother, he had a conference with Fisher the jesuit, which confirmed their attachment to the protestant religion. January the twenty-first 1622-3, he was inducted into the rectory of Creeke, in Northamptonshire, which he held in commendam with his bishopric.

In October 1623, he incurred the displeasure of Dr. John Williams, bishop of Lincoln, then lord keeper of the great seal. April the seventeenth 1624, he became deputy-clerk of the closet to king Charles I. for Dr. Neile, then bishop of Durham, who was indisposed, and executed that office till the first of May following.

February the second 1625-6, he officiated at the coronation of his majesty, as dean of Westminster; the king having commanded bishop Williams, the dean of that church, not to be present at that ceremony. June the twentieth 1626, he was nominated to the see of Bath and Wells; to which he was elected on the sixteenth of August. In the beginning of October, the same year, he was made dean of the chapel royal; and April the twenty-ninth
1627,

1627, was made privy-counsellor to his majesty.

On the fifteenth of July 1628, he was translated to the bishopric of London; and, about this time, his ancient acquaintance, Sir James Whitelocke, a judge, used to say of him, that he was too full of fire, though a just and good man; and, that his want of experience in state matters, and his too much zeal for the church, and heat, if he proceeded in the way he was then in, would set this nation on fire.

April the twelfth 1630, he was elected chancellor of the university of Oxford. In May 1633, he attended the king into Scotland; and, June the fifteenth, was sworn counsellor of that kingdom. August the fourth, the same year, upon the death of archbishop Abbot, the king resolved to advance him to the see of Canterbury.

The same morning a person came to him, and offered him to be a cardinal. This offer he rejected, saying, that something dwelt within him which would not suffer that, till Rome was other than it was.

September the nineteenth, he was translated to the archbishopric of Canterbury. May the thirteenth he received the seals of his being chosen chancellor of the university of Dublin in Ireland, to which office he had been elected on the fourteenth of September 1633. March the fourteenth 1634 5, he was named one of the commissioners of the exchequer, upon

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the death of Waston, lord high-treasurer of England. March the sixth, 1635-6, he procured the staff of lord high-treasurer of England for Dr. William Juxon, bishop of London. June the fourteenth 1637, he made a speech in the Star-chamber at the censure of Dr. John Bastwic, Henry Burton, B. D. and William Pryne. Esq.

In October following, he fell under the displeasure of her majesty, for complaining of the increase and behaviour of the catholic party. In the beginning of the long parliament, he was attacked on account of the canons made by the convocation in May 1640; whereupon he wrote a letter to Mr. Seldon, dated November the twenty-ninth 1640.

December the sixteenth, these canons were condemned by the house of commons, as containing in them things contrary to the king's prerogative, to the fundamental laws and statutes of this realm, to the rights of parliament, to the property and liberty of the subject, and tending to sedition and dangerous consequence.

December the eighteenth, he was accused by the commons of high treason; upon which he was committed to the custody of the usher of the black rod, and on the first of March to the Tower.

On the twelfth of March 1643-4, he was brought to his tryal, which lasted for twenty days, till the twenty-ninth of July; and on the twenty-first of September, he made his recapitulation.

recapitulation. November the thirteenth, a bill of attainder of him passed the house of commons; and, January the sixth, 1644-5, it passed the house of lords.

He was beheaded on Tower-hill, on Friday, the tenth of January, aged seventy-one years, thirteen weeks, and four days; and his body was interred in the chancel of the church of Alhallows, Barkin; from whence, in July, 1663, it was removed to Oxford, and deposited in the chapel of St. John's college.

He composed several pieces besides his answer to Fisher.

"He was of low stature," says Dr. Heylin, "but of a strong composition; his countenance chearful and ruddy; which chearfulness and vivacity he carried with him to the very block, notwithstanding the afflictions of four years imprisonment. Of apprehension he was quick and sudden; of a very sociable wit and pleasant humour; and one that knew as well how to put off the gravity of his place and person, when he saw occasion, as any man living."

The following is an authentic relation of the Archbishop's Speech on the scaffold, and other circumstances attending his execution.

"Good people,

"THIS is an uncomfortable time to preach, yet I shall begin with a text of scripture:
B. 4. tyre:

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ture ; Heb. xii. 2, Let us run with patience that race which is set before us, looking unto Jesus, the author and finisher of our faith, who, for the joy that was set before him, endured the cross, despising the shame, and is set down at the right hand of the throne of God.

“ I have been long in my race ; and how I have looked to Jesus, the author and finisher of my faith, he best knows. I am now come to the end of my race, and here I find the cross, a death of shame ; but the shame must be despised, or no coming to the right hand of God. Jesus despised the shame for me, and God forbid but that I should despise the shame for him. I am going apace, as you see, towards the red sea ; and my feet are now upon the very brink of it ; an argument, I hope, that God is bringing me into the Land of Promise ; for that was the way through which he led his people : but, before they came to it, he instituted a passover for them ; a lamb it was, but it must be eaten with sower herbs. I shall obey, and labour to digest the sower herbs as well as the lamb ; and I shall remember it in the Lord’s passover ; I shall not think of the herbs, nor be angry with the hand which gathereth them ; but look up only to him who instituted that, and governs these ; for men can have no more power over me than what is given them from above. I am not in love with this passage through the Red-Sea, for I have the weakness and infirmities
of

of flesh and blood plentifully in me ; and I have prayed with my Saviour, ‘ Ut transfret calix ille ; That this cup of red-wine might pass from me ; but, if not, God’s will, not mine, be done ; and I shall most willingly drink of this cup as deep as he pleases, and enter into this sea, yea and pass through it, in the way that he shall lead me.

“ But I would have it remembered, good people, that, when God’s servants were in this boisterous sea, and Aaron among them, the Egyptians which persecuted them, and did, in a manner, drive them into that sea, were drowned in the same waters while they were in pursuit of them : I know my God, whom I serve, is as able to deliver me from this sea of blood, as he was to deliver the three children from the furnace ; and, I most humbly thank my Saviour for it, my resolution is now as theirs was then : they would not worship the image the king had set up, nor will I the imaginations which the people are setting up ; nor will I forsake the temple and the truth of God, to follow the bleating of Jeroboam’s calf, in Dan and in Bethel : and, as for this people, they are, at this time, miserably misled : God, of his mercy, open their eyes, that they may see the right way ; for, at this day, the blind lead the blind ; and, if they go on, both will certainly fall into the ditch.

“ For myself, I am, and I acknowledge it with all humility, a most grievous sinner many

way ; by thought, word, and deed ; and I cannot doubt but that God hath mercy in store for me, a poor penitent, as well as for other sinners. I have now, upon this sad occasion, ransacked every corner of my heart ; and yet, I thank God, I have not found, among the many, any one sin which deserves death by any known law of this kingdom ; and yet hereby I charge nothing upon my judges ; for, if they proceed upon proof by valuable witnesses, I, or any other innocent, may be justly condemned : and I thank God, though the weight of the sentence lie heavy upon me, I am as quiet within as ever I was in my life ; and, though I am not only the first archbishop, but the first man, that ever died by an ordinance of parliament, yet some of my predecessors have gone this way, though not by this means ; for Elphegus was hurried away, and lost his head by the Danes : and Simon Sudbury, in the fury of Wat Tyler and his fellows. Before these, St. John Baptist had his head danced off by a lewd woman ; and St. Cyprian, archbishop of Carthage, submitted his head to a persecuting sword. Many examples, great and good ; and they teach me patience : for I hope my cause in heaven will look of another dye than the colour that is put upon it here : and some comfort it is to me, not only that I go the way of these great men in their several generations, but also that my charge, as foul as it is made, looks like that of the Jews against St. Paul,

Acts

Acts xxv. 3 ; for he was accused for the law and the temple ; i. e. religion : and, like that of St. Stephen, Acts vi. 14, for breaking the ordinances which Moses gave ; i. e. law and religion, the holy place and the temple ; verſe 13. But you will ſay, Do I then compare myſelf with the integrity of St. Paul and St. Stephen ? No, far be that from me ; I only raiſe a comfort to myſelf, that theſe great ſaints and ſervants of God were laid at in their times as I am now : and it is memorable, that St. Paul, who helped on this accuſation againſt St. Stephen, did after fall under the ſame himſelf. Yea, but here's a great clamour that I would have brought in popery : I ſhall answer that more fully by and by ; in the mean time you know what the Pharifee ſaid againſt Chriſt himſelf, ' If we let him alone, all men will believe in him, et vent Romani, and the Romans will come and take away both our place and the nation.' Here was a cauſeleſs cry againſt Chriſt that the Romans will come ; and ſee how juſt the judgment of God was : they crucified Chriſt for fear leſt the Romans ſhould come, and his death was it which brought in the Romans upon them, God puniſhing them with that which they moſt feared : and I pray God this clamour of venient Romani, of which I have given no cauſe, help not to bring them in ; for the pope never had ſuch a harveſt in England ſince the reformation, as he hath now upon the ſects and diviſions that are amongſt us.

In the mean time, by honour and dishonour, by good report and evil report, as a deceiver, and yet true, am I passing through this world ; 2 Cor. vi. 8. Some particulars also I think it not amiss to speak of.

“ And, first, this I shall be bold to speak of, The king, our gracious sovereign, he hath been much traduced also for bringing in of popery ; but, on my conscience, of which I shall give God a very present account, I know him to be as free from this charge as any man living ; and I hold him to be as sound a protestant, according to the religion by law established, as any man in this kingdom ; and that he will venture his life as far and as freely for it ; and I think I do, or should, know both his affection to religion, and his grounds for it, as fully as any man in England.

“ The second particular is concerning this great and populous city, which God bless. Here hath been of late a fashion taken up, to gather hands, and then go to the great court of this kingdom, the parliament, and clamour for justice ; as if that great and wise court, before whom the causes come, which are unknown to the many, could not, or would not, do justice but at their appointment. A way which may endanger many an innocent man, and pluck his blood upon their own heads, and perhaps upon this city's also : and this hath been practised against myself, the

the magistrates standing still, and suffering them to proceed from parish to parish without check. God forgive the setters of this ; with all my heart I beg it ; but many well-meaning people are caught by it. In St. Stephen's case, when nothing else would serve, they stirred up the people against him ; and Herod, when he went the same way, when he had killed St. James, yet he would not venture upon St. Peter till he found how the other pleased the people : but take heed of having your hands full of blood, for there is a time, best known to himself, when God, above other sins, makes inquisition for blood ; and, when that inquisition is on foot, the Psalmist tells us, That God remembers ; but that is not all ; He remembers, and forgets not, the complaint of the poor ; that is, whose blood is shed by oppression ; verse 9. Take heed of this ; 'tis a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God, but then especially when he is making inquisition for blood ; and, with my prayers to avert it, I do heartily desire this city to remember the prophecy that is expressed Jer. xxvi. 15.

“ The third particular is the poor church of England. It hath flourished, and been a shelter to other neighbouring churches, when storms have driven upon them. But, alas ! now 'tis in a storm itself, and God only knows whether, or how it shall get out ; and, which is worse than a storm from without, it is become
like

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like an oak cleft to shivers with wedges made out of its own body ; and, at every cleft, prophaneness and irreligion is entering in, while, as Prosper speaks, in his second book, *De Vitæ Contemptu*, cap. iv. ‘ Men that introduce prophaneness, are cloaked over with the name religionis imaginariæ, of imaginary religion :’ for we have lost the substance, and dwell too much in opinion ; and that church, which all the jesuits machinations could not ruin, is fallen into danger by her own.

“ The last particlular, for I am not willing to be too long, is myself. I was born and baptized in the bosom of the church of England, established by law. In that profession I have ever since lived, and in that I come now to die. This is no time to dissemble with God, least of all in matter of religion, and therefore I desire it may be remembered, I have always lived in the protestant religion, established in England ; and in that I come now to die. What clamours and slanders I have endured, for labouring to keep all uniformity in the external service of God, according to the doctrine and discipline of this church, all men know, and I have abundantly felt.

“ Now, at last, I am accused of high-treason in parliament ; a crime which my soul ever abhorred. This treason was charged to consist of these two parts ; an endeavour to subvert the laws of the land, and a like endeavour.

deavour to overthrow the true protestant religion established by law. Besides my answers to the several charges, I protested my innocency in both houses. It was said, Prisoners protestations at the bar must not be taken. I can bring no witness of my heart and the intentions thereof; therefore I must come to my protestation, not at the bar, but my protestation at this hour and instant of my death; in which I hope all men will be such charitable Christians, as not to think I would die and dissemble, being instantly to give God an account of the truth: I do therefore, in the presence of God, and his holy angels, take it upon my death, That I never endeavoured the subversion either of law or religion; and I desire you all to remember this protest of mine for my innocency, in these, and from all treasons whatsoever. I have been accused likewise as an enemy to parliaments: no, I understand them, and the benefit that comes by them, too well to be so: but I did dislike the misgovernment of some parliaments many ways, and I had reason for it; for, *corruptio optimi est pessima*; there is no corruption in the world so bad, as that which is of the best thing in itself; for the better the thing is in nature, the worse it is corrupted; and that being the highest court, over which no other hath jurisdiction, when 'tis mis-informed, or mis-governed, the subject is left without all remedy. But I have done, I forgive all the world, all and every of those
bitter

bitter enemies which have persecuted me; and humbly desire to be forgiven of God first, and then of every man, whether I have offended him or not, if he do but conceive that I have. Lord do thou forgive me, and I beg forgiveness of him; and so I heartily desire you to join in prayer with me."

The speech and prayers being ended, he gave the paper which he read unto Dr. Sterne, desiring him to shew it to the other chaplains, that they might know how he departed out of this world; and so prayed God to shew his mercy and blessings on them: and noting how one Hind had employed himself, in taking a copy of his speech as it came from his mouth, he desired him not to do him wrong in publishing a false or imperfect copy: which as Hind promised him to be careful of, calling for punishment from above if he should do otherwise; so hath he reasonably well performed his promise; the alterations or additions which occur therein, being perhaps the work of those who perused his papers, and were to authorize them to public view, to fit it more unto the palate of the city faction, and make it more consistent with the credit of those guilty men who had voted to his condemnation.

This done, he next applied himself to the fatal block, as to the haven of his rest: but finding the way full of people, who had placed

placed themselves upon the theatre to behold the tragedy, he desired he might have room to die ; beseeching them to let him have an end of his miseries, which he had endured very long. All which he did with so serene and calm a mind, as if he had been rather taking order for another man's funeral, than making way unto his own.

Being come near the block, he put off his doublet, and used some words to this effect : " God's will be done ; I am willing to go out of this world ; no man can be more willing to send me out of it." And seeing, through the chinks of the boards, that some people were got under the scaffold, about the very place where the block was seated, he called on the officers for some dust to stop them, or to remove the people thence, saying, It was no part of his desires, that his blood should fall upon the heads of the people.

Never did man put off mortality with a braver courage, nor look upon his bloody and malicious enemies with more Christian charity.

Thus far he was gone in his way towards paradise, with such a primitive magnanimity as equalled, if not exceeded, the example of antient martyrs, when he was somewhat interrupted in his quiet passage by one Sir John Clotworthy, a fire-brand brought from Ireland by the earl of Warwick to encrease the combustions in this kingdom ; who, finding that the

the mockings and revilings of malicious people had no power to move him, or sharpen him into any discontent or shew of passion, would needs put in, and try what he could do with his sponge and vinegar; and, stepping to him near the block, asked him, with such a purpose as the Scribes and Pharisees used to propose questions to our Lord and Saviour, not to learn by him, but to tempt him, or to expose him to some disadvantage with the slanders by, What was the comfortablest saying which a dying man could have in his mouth. To which he meekly made this answer, "Cupio dissolvi et esse cum Christo:" i. e. "I desire to be dissolved and to be with Christ." Being asked again, What was the fittest speech a man could use, to express his confidence and assurance; he answered, with the same spirit of meekness, That such assurance was to be found within, and that no words were able to express it rightly. Which, when it would not satisfy the troublesome and impertinent man, who aimed at something else than such satisfaction, unless he gave some word, or place of scripture, whereupon such assurance might be truly founded. He used some words to this effect, That it was the word of God concerning Christ, and his dying for us. And so, without expecting any further questions (for he perceived, by the manner of Sir John's proceedings, that there would be no end of his interruptions if he harkened any longer to him)

him) he turned towards his executioner (the gentler and discreeter man of the two) and gave him money; saying, without the least distemper or change of countenance, "Here, honest friend, God forgive thee, and do thy office upon me with mercy; and, having given a sign when the blow should come, he kneeled down upon his knees, and prayed as followeth :

"Lord, I am coming as fast as I can; I know I must pass through the shadow of death before that I can come to see thee; but it is umbra mortis, a mere shadow of death, a little darkness upon nature; but thou, by thy merits and passion, hast broke through the jaws of death: so, Lord, receive my soul, and have mercy upon me, and bless this kingdom with peace and plenty, and with brotherly love and charity, that there may not be this effusion of Christian blood amongst them, for Jesus Christ's sake, if it be thy will."

'Then laying his head upon the block, and praying silently to himself, he said aloud, "Lord receive my soul;" which was the signal given to the executioner, who very dexterously did his office, and took it off at a blow; his soul ascending on the wings of angels into Abraham's bosom, and leaving his body on the scaffold to the care of men. A spectacle so displeasing unto the most of those who had desired his death with much heat and passion, that many, who had come with greedy eyes

eyes to see him suffer, went back with weeping eyes when they saw him dead ; their consciences, perhaps, bearing witness to them, that they had sinned in being guilty of such innocent blood.

See his character by lord Clarendon : “ It was within one week after the king’s return from Scotland, that Abbot died at his house at Lambeth. The king took very little time to consider who should be his successor, but the very next time the bishop of London (who was longer on his way home than the king had been) came to him, his majesty entertaining him very cheerfully with this compellation, My lord’s grace of Canterbury you are very welcome, and gave order the same day for the dispatch of all the necessary forms for the translation: so that within a month, or thereabouts, after the death of the other archbishop, he was compleatly invested in that high dignity, and settled in his palace at Lambeth.

This great prelate had been before in great favour with the duke of Buckingham, whose chief confidant he was, and by him recommended to the king, as fittest to be trusted in the conferring of all ecclesiastical preferments, when he was but bishop of St David’s, or newly preferred to Bath and Wells; and from that time he entirely governed that province, without a rival; so that his promotion to Canterbury was long foreseen, and expected; nor
was

was it attended with any increase of envy, or dislike.

He was a man of great parts, and very exemplary virtues, allayed and discredited by some unpopular natural infirmities; the greatest of which was (besides a hasty, sharp way of expressing himself) that he believed innocence of heart, and integrity of manners, was a guard strong enough to secure any man in his voyage through this world, in what company soever he travelled, and through what way soever he was to pass: and sure never any man was better supplied with that provision. He was born of honest parents, who were well able to provide for his education in the schools of learning, from whence they sent him to St. John's college in Oxford, the worst endowed at that time of any in that famous university. From a scholar he became a fellow, and then the president of the college, after he had received all the graces, and degrees (the proctorship and the doctorship) could be obtained there. He was always maligned and persecuted by those who were of the Calvinian faction, which was then very powerful, and who, according to their usual maxim and practice, call every man they do not love, Papist; and, under this senseless appellation, they created him many troubles and vexations; and so far suppressed him, that though he was the king's chaplain, and taken notice of for an excellent preacher, and a scholar of the most sublime parts, he had not any preferment to invite him to leave his
poor

poor college, which only gave him bread, till the vigour of his age was past : and when he was promoted by king James, it was but to a poor bishopric in Wales, which was not so good a support for a bishop, as his college was for a private scholar, though a doctor.

Parliaments in that time were very frequent, and grew very busy, and the party, under which he had suffered a continual persecution, appeared very powerful, and full of design, and they who had the courage to oppose them, begun to be taken notice of with approbation, and countenance : under this stile he came to be first cherished by the duke of Buckingham, who had made some experiments of the temper and spirit of the other people, nothing to his satisfaction. From this time he prospered at the rate of his own wishes, and being transplanted out of his cold barren diocess of St. David's, into a warmer climate, he was left, as was said before, by that great favourite, in that great trust with the king ; who was sufficiently indisposed towards the persons, or the principles of Calvin's disciples.

When he came into great authority, it may be, he retained too keen a memory of those who had so unjustly, and uncharitably persecuted him before ; and I doubt, was so far transported with the same passions he had reason to complain of in his adversaries, that, as they accused him of popery, because he had some doctrinal opinions which they liked not, though they were nothing allied to popery ;

so he entertained too much prejudice to some persons, as if they were enemies to the discipline of the church, because they concurred with Calvin in some doctrinal points; when they abhorred his discipline, and revered the government of the church, and prayed for the peace of it with as much zeal and fervency as any in the kingdom; as they made manifest in their lives, and in their sufferings with it, and for it. He had, from his first entrance into the world, without any disguise, or dissimulation, declared his own opinion of that class of men, and, as soon as it was in his power, he did all he could to hinder the growth and increase of that faction, and to restrain those who were inclined to it, from doing the mischief they desired to do. But his power at court could not enough qualify him to go through with that difficult reformation, whilst he had a superior in the church, who, having the reigns in his hand, could slacken them according to his own humour, and indiscretion; and was thought to be the more remiss, to irritate his cholerick disposition. But when he had now the primacy in his own hand, the king being inspired with the same zeal, he thought he should be to blame, and have much to answer for, if he did not make haste to apply remedies to those diseases, which he saw would grow apace.

The archbishop had, all his life, eminently opposed Calvin's doctrine in those controversies, before the name of Arminius was taken notice

notice of, or his opinions heard of ; and thereupon, for want of another name, they had called him a papist, which nobody believed him to be, and he had more manifested the contrary in his disputations and writings, than most men had done ; and it may be the other found the more severe, and rigorous usage from him, for their propagating that calumny against him. He was a man of great courage and resolution, and being most assured within himself, that he proposed no end in all his actions and designs, but what was pious and just (as sure no man had ever a heart more entire to the king, the church, or his country) he never studied the easiest ways to those ends ; he thought, it may be, that any art or industry that way, would discredit, at least make the integrity of the end suspected, let the cause be what it will. He did court persons too little ; nor cared to make his designs and purposes appear as candid as they were, by shewing them in any other dress than their own natural beauty, though perhaps in too rough a manner ; and did not consider enough what men said, or were like to say of him. If the faults and vices were fit to be looked into and discovered, let the persons be who they would that were guilty of them, they were sure to find no connivance of favour from him. He intended the discipline of the church should be felt, as well as spoken of, and that it should be applied to the greatest and most splendid transgressors, as well as to the punishment of smaller

smaller offences, and meaner offenders; and thereupon called for, or cherished the discovery of those who were not careful to cover their own iniquities, thinking they were above the reach of other men, or their power, or will to chastise. Persons of honour and great quality, of the court and of the country, were every day cited into the high commission court, upon the fame of their incontinence, or other scandal in their lives, and were there prosecuted to their shame and punishment: and as the shame (which they called an insolent triumph upon their degree and quality, and levelling them with the common people) was never forgotten, but watched for revenge; so the fines imposed there were the more questioned, and repined against, because they were assigned to the rebuilding and repairing St. Paul's church; and thought therefore to be the more severely imposed, and the less compassionately reduced and excused: which likewise made the jurisdiction and rigour of the Star-chamber more felt, and murmured against, and sharpened many men's humours against the bishops, before they had any ill intentions towards the church.

The archbishop. guided purely by his zeal and reverence for the place of God's service, and by the canons and injunctions of the church, with the custom observed in the king's chapel, and in most cathedral churches, without considering the long intermission and discontinuation in many other places, prosecuted this affair more passionately than was fit for the

season; and had prejudice against those, who out of fear, or foresight, or not understanding the thing, had not the same warmth to promote it. The bishops who had been preferred by his favour, or hoped to be so, were at least as solicitous to bring it to pass in their several diocesses; and some of them with more passion, and less circumspection, than they had his example for, or than he approved; prosecuting those who opposed them, very fiercely, and sometimes unwarrantably, which was kept in remembrance. Whilst other bishops, not so many in number, or so valuable in weight, who had not been beholden to him, nor had any hope of being so, were enough contented to give perfunctory orders for the doing it, and to see the execution of those orders not minded; and not the less pleased to find, that the prejudice of that whole transaction reflected solely upon the archbishop.

The archbishop had not been long in that post, when there was another great alteration in the court by the death of the earl of Portland, high-treasurer of England; a man so jealous of the archbishop's credit with the king, that he always endeavoured to lessen it by all the arts and ways he could; which he was so far from effecting, that, as it usually falls out, when passion and malice make accusation, by suggesting many particulars which the king knew to be untrue, or believed to be no faults, he rather confirmed his majesty's judgment of him, and prejudiced his own reputation.

tation. His death caused no grief in the archbishop; who was upon it made one of the commissioners of the treasury, and revenue, which he had reason to be sorry for, because it engaged him in civil business, and matters of state, wherein he had little experience, and which he had hitherto avoided. But being obliged to it now by his trust, he entered upon it with his natural earnestness and warmth, making it his principal care to advance, and improve the king's revenue, by all the ways which were offered, and so hearkened to all informations and propositions of that kind; and having not had experience of that tribe of people, who deal in that traffic (a confident, senseless, and for the most part a naughty people) he was sometimes misled by them, to think better of some projects than they deserved; but then he was so entirely devoted to what would be beneficial to the king, that all propositions and designs, which were for the profit (only or principally) of particular persons, how greatsoever, were opposed and crossed, and very often totally suppressed, and stifled in their birth, by his power and authority; which created him enemies enough in the court, and many of ability to do mischief, who knew well how to recompense discourtesies, which they always called injuries.

The revenue of too many of the court consisted principally in enclosures, and improvements of that nature, which he still opposed passionately, except they were founded upon

law; and then, if it would bring profit to the king, how old and obsolete soever the law was, he thought he might justly advise the prosecution. And so he did a little too much countenance the commission concerning depopulation, which brought much charge and trouble upon the people, and was likewise cast upon his account.

He had observed, and knew it must be so, that the principal officers of the revenue, who governed the affairs of money, had always access to the king, and spent more time with him in private than any of his servants, or counsellors, and had thereby frequent opportunities to do good or ill offices to many men; of which he had had experience, when the earl of Portland was treasurer, and the lord Cottenham chancellor of the exchequer; neither of them being his friends; and the latter still enjoying his place, and having his former access, and so continuing a joint commissioner of the treasury with him, and understanding that province much better, still opposed, and commonly carried every thing against him; so that he was weary of the toil and vexation of that business; as all other men were, and still are, of the delays which are in all dispatches in that office, whilst it is executed by commission.

The treasurer's is the greatest office of benefit in the kingdom, and the chief in precedence, next the archbishop's, and the great seal; so that the eyes of all men were at gaze
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who should have this great office; and the greatest of the nobility, who were in the chief employments, looked upon it as the prize of one of them; such offices commonly making way for more removes and preferments; when on a sudden the staff was put into the hands of the bishop of London, a man so unknown, that his name was scarce heard of in the kingdom, who had been, within two years before, but a private chaplain to the king, and the president of a poor college in Oxford. This inflamed more men than were angry before, and no doubt did not only sharpen the edge of envy and malice against the archbishop, (who was the known architect of this new fabric) but most unjustly indisposed many towards the church itself, which they looked upon as the gulf ready to swallow all the great offices, there being others in view, of that robe, who were ambitious enough to expect the rest.

In the mean time the archbishop himself was infinitely pleased with what was done, and unhappily believed he had provided a stronger support for the church; and never abated any thing of his severity, and rigour towards men of all conditions; or in the sharpness of his language, and expressions, which was so natural to him, that he could not debate any thing without some commotion, when the argument was not of moment, nor bear contradiction in debate, even in the council, where all men are equally free, with that

patience and temper that was necessary ; of which, they who wished him not well, took many advantages, and would therefore contradict him, that he might be transported with some indecent passion ; which, upon a short recollection, he was always sorry for, and most readily and heartily would make acknowledgement. No man so willingly made unkind use of all those occasions, as the lord Cottington, who, being a master of temper, and of the most profound dissimulation, knew too well how to lead him into a mistake, and then drive him into choler, and then expose him upon the matter, and the manner, to the judgment of the company ; and he chose to do this most, when the king was present ; and then he would dine with him the next day.

The king, who was excessively affected to hunting, and the sports of the field, had a great desire to make a great park for Red, as well as fallow deer, between Richmond and Hampton-court, where he had large wastes of his own, and great parcels of wood, which made it very fit for the use he designed it to : but as some parishes had commons in those wastes, so, many gentlemen and farmers, had good houses, and good farms intermingled with those wastes, of their own inheritance, or for their lives, or years ; and without taking of them into the park, it would not be of the largeness, or for the use proposed. His majesty desired to purchase those lands, and was very willing to buy them upon higher terms
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than the people could sell them at to any body else, if they had occasion to part with them; and thought it no unreasonable thing, upon those terms, to expect this from his subjects; and so he employed his own surveyor, and other of his officers, to treat with the owners, many whereof were his own tenants, whose farms would at last expire.

The major part of the people were in a short time prevailed with, but many very obstinately refused; and a gentleman, who had the best estate, with a convenient house, and gardens, would by no means part with it; and the king being as earnest to compass it, it made a great noise, as if the king would take away mens estates at his own pleasure. The bishop of London, who was treasurer, and the lord Cottington, chancellor of the exchequer, were, from the first entering upon it, very averse to the design, not only from the murmur of the people, but because the purchase of the land, and the making a brick-wall about so large a parcel of ground (for it is near ten miles about) would cost a greater sum of money than they could easily provide, or than they thought ought to be sacrificed to such an occasion: and the lord Cottington (who was more solicited by the country people, and heard most of their murmurs) took the business most to heart, and endeavoured by all the ways he could, and by frequent importunities, to divert his majesty from pursuing it, and put all delays, he could

well do, in the bargains which were to be made; till the king grew very angry with him, and told him, "He was resolved to go through with it, and had already caused brick to be burned, and much of the wall to be built upon his own land" upon which Cottington thought fit to acquiesce.

The building the wall before people consented to part with their land, or their common, looked to them as if by degrees they should be shut out from both, and increased the murmur and noise of the people, who were not concerned, as well as of them who were: and it was too near London not to be the common discourse. The archbishop (who desired exceedingly that the king should be possessed as much of the hearts of the people as was possible, at least that they should have no just cause to complain) meeting with it, resolved to speak to the king of it; which he did; and received such an answer from him, that he thought his majesty rather not informed enough of the inconveniences, and mischiefs of the thing, than positively resolved not to desist from it. Whereupon one day he took the lord Cottington aside (being informed that he disliked it) and told him, "He should do very well to give the king good counsel, and to withdraw him from a resolution, in which his honour and justice was so much called in question." Cottington answered him very gravely, "That the thing designed was very lawful, and that he thought the king re-
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solved very well, since the place lay so convenient for his winter exercise, and that he would by it not be compelled to make so long journeys as he used to do, in that season of the year, for his sport, and that nobody ought to dissuade him from it."

The archbishop instead of finding a concurrence from him, as he expected, seeing himself reproached upon the matter for his opinion, grew into much passion, telling him, "Such men as he would ruin the king, and make him lose the affections of his subjects; that for his own part, as he had begun, so he would go on to dissuade the king from proceeding in so ill a counsel, and that he hoped it would appear who had been his counsellor." Cottington, glad to see him so soon hot, and resolved to inflame him more, very calmly replied to him, "that he thought a man could not, with a good conscience, hinder the king from pursuing his resolutions, and that it could not but proceed from want of affection to his person, and he was not sure that it might not be high-treason." The other, upon the wildness of his discourse, in great anger asked him, "Why? from whence he had received that doctrine?" He said, with the same temper, "They who did not wish the king's health, could not love him; and they who went about to hinder his taking recreation, which preserved his health, might be thought, for ought he knew, guilty of the highest crimes." Upon which the archbishop,
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in great rage, and with many reproaches, left him, and either presently, or upon the next opportunity, told the king, "that he now knew who was his great counsellor for making his park, and that he did not wonder that men durst not represent any arguments to the contrary, or let his majesty know how much he suffered in it, when such principles in divinity and law were laid down to terrify them;" and so recounted to him the conference he had with the lord Cottington, bitterly inveighing against him, and his doctrine, mentioning him with all the sharp reproaches imaginable, and beseeching his majesty, that his counsel might not prevail with him, taking some pains to make his conclusions appear very false, and ridiculous.

The king said no more, but, "My lord, you are deceived, Cottington is too hard for you; upon my word he hath not only dissuaded me more, and given more reasons against this business, than all the men in England have done, but hath really obstructed the work by not doing his duty, as I commanded him, for which I have been very much displeased with him: you see how unjustly your passion hath transported you." By which reprehension he found how much he had been abused, and resented it accordingly.

Whatsoever was the cause of it, this excellent man, who stood not upon the advantage ground before, from the time of his promotion to the archbishopric, or rather from that
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of his being commissioner of the treasury, exceedingly provoked, or underwent the envy, and reproach, and malice of men of all qualities and conditions; who agreed in nothing else: all which, though well enough known to him, were not enough considered by him, who believed, as most men did, the government to be so firmly settled, that it could neither be shaken from within, nor without, and that less than a general confusion of law and gospel, could not hurt him; which was true too; but he did not foresee how easily that confusion might be brought to pass, as it proved shortly to be, as we have already related.



THE LIFE OF

EDMUND LUDLOW.

EDMUND LUDLOW, a ringleader of the republican-party, in the civil wars of the last century, was descended from a family of considerable rank, originally seated in Shropshire; but removing thence, it afterwards settled in Wiltshire: and he was born at Maiden-Bradley in that county, about the year 1620.

His parents, resolving to give him an education suitable to his birth, sent him from school to Trinity-college in Oxford; where, having gone through the usual academical studies, he took the degree of batchelor of arts, November 14, 1636. After which he was removed to the Temple, in order to acquire a competent knowledge in the laws and constitution of his country, so as to recommend him to a seat in parliament, where his ancestors had frequently represented the county.

His behaviour was answerable to the hopes and expectations of his father, Sir Henry Ludlow, knight, who being chosen for the county in the long parliament, which met the third of November 1640, and entering with great zeal into the party against the court, his conduct



Ludlow.

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duſt and encouragement had ſuch an influence on his ſon, that he not only very early declared himſelf on that ſide, but alſo took up arms the firſt opportunity that offered: for while he was a ſtudent in the Temple, he engaged with ſeveral others in a kind of military aſſociation, and they afterwards inliſted as volunteers in the earl of Eſſex's life-guard; and being in the firſt pitched battle between king Charles I. and his parliament, called the battle of Edge-hill; which was fought on Sunday the twenty-third of October 1642: of which he has given us a very particular, and, ſeemingly, impartial account, ſo far as he was concerned. He was ſoon afterwards raiſed by Sir Edward Hungerford, general of the parliament army, to the command of a troop of horſe, and being made governor of Windſor-caſtle, he maintained that poſt for ten months, without any aſſiſtance, for the parliament, which had held out only ſix days for the king; yielding, he was carried priſoner to Oxford, where they offered him the liberty of the city upon his parole; but as they would not in that caſe give him the freedom of viſiting his friends in the caſtle, he choſe to remain with them in confinement; from whence, in about three weeks time, he was releaſed, by exchange, and went to London. Where being appointed ſheriff of Wilts, he accepted a majority in Sir Arthur Haſtings's regiment of horſe, in the Weſtern ſervice; and in the following ſummer, he raiſed a regiment in conſequence

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sequence of a commission from Sir William Waller ; and having done the parliament considerable service, in reducing several places, he joined Sir William Waller with about five hundred horse, and was engaged in the second battle fought at Newberry, in which he lost his kinsman, Gabriel Ludlow, who was much lamented by him.

Soon after this the disputes between the parliamentarians began to run very high, and at last produced the famous self-denying ordinance, by means of which the earls of Essex and Manchester (rigid presbyterians) and Sir William Waller, were dismissed from their several commands, and with them colonel Ludlow, who came not into play again in any post civil or military, till 1645, when he was chosen knight of the shire, to represent the county of Wilts, in the room of his father, who died in 1643.

On the surrender of the king to the Scots, the colonel, as one of the members for Wilts, was commissioned to pay off major Massey's brigade, which he and alderman Allen, the other representative for that county, did at the Devizes.

Soon after the death of the earl of Essex, which happened the thirteenth of September 1646, Cromwel entered into a conversation with colonel Ludlow, wherein he expressed so much dislike against the parliament, and so extolled the army, that the colonel was persuaded he had already conceived the design of destroying

destroying the civil authority and setting up for himself, and was founding whether a fit instrument to be employed to those ends : but he returned such an answer, as made Cromwell never speak to him again on that subject, though upon another occasion he used very indecent expressions to him in the house, tending to the same purpose. When the king was brought from Holmby to the army, Ludlow went down to visit the officers, where commissary-general Ireton apprehending the colonel and other members, at that time friends to the army, might be jealous of their proceedings, took pains to satisfy him ; desiring him to be assured of their steadfast adherence to the public interest, and that they intended only to dispense with such things as were not material, in order to quiet the restless spirit of the cavaliers, till they could put themselves into a condition to serve the people effectually : but he adds, he could not approve of their practices. It appears clearly from our author's memoirs, that he looked on the agitators, and their party in the army, as staunch commonwealth's men, and therefore when Cromwell, on their growing troublesome, seized twelve of them, one of which he caused to be shot dead upon the spot, delivering the rest over to the custody of the marshal ; and on reporting this transaction to the parliament, had the thanks of the house voted him for what he had done ; our author distinguished himself, by giving as loud a No

as he could. After the parliament had passed the vote for non-address to the king, and published their declaration for bringing him to a tryal, which declaration was drawn up by colonel Nathaniel Fiennes, colonel Ludlow, Mr. Holland, and another member, were sent down to Windsor to release captain Reynolds and the others (called levellers) seized, as above-mentioned, by Cromwell; who soon after procured a meeting of divers leading men amongst the presbyterians and independents, both members of parliament and ministers, at a dinner in Westminster, under pretence of endeavouring a reconciliation between the two parties; but he found it a work too difficult for him to compose the differences between those two ecclesiastical interests; one of which, says our author, could endure no superior, the other, no equal. Wherefore, finding this produced no effect, he contrived another conference to be held in King-street, between those called the *grandees* of the house and army, and the commonwealth's men; the result of which may be seen at large in Ludlow's memoirs.

When Sir Thomas Glenham, by order of the Scots, who were now preparing to raise forces to release the king from his confinement at Carisbrook in the isle of Wight, had seized upon Carlisle; the parliament resolving to reinforce the militia of each county, sent several of their members into their respective counties to give life to their preparations, and
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amongst them the colonel was sent into Wiltshire, where he soon brought them to agree to the raising two regiments of foot and one of horse. And soon after Oliver Cromwell finding difficulties encreasing in the way, took an opportunity of making his complaints, and asking the advice of our author, which he very frankly gave him.

After the defeat of the Scotch and English army, under the marquis of Hamilton and Sir Marmaduke Langdale, by Cromwell, colonel Ludlow went down to Sir Thomas Fairfax, then lying before Colchester, to persuade him to make the most of the power which the army had assumed, in order, as he said, to prevent their own and the nation's ruin; to convince him of the necessity of which, he said before him the bad consequences of entering into a treaty with the king, in such strong terms that the army in a very short time adopted his system, and drawing nearer to London, in order to favour their friends in the house, Ireton sent a message to our author, "That now he hoped the army should please him." "Which," says he, "I must acknowledge they did." In the same spirit, when the house, on his majesty's answer from Nieuport, voted that the king's concessions were ground for a future settlement, he and his party declared their dissatisfaction, and retired to consult how to frustrate that vote. And several officers coming to town the next day, they held a consultation together, in
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which, after concluding, that the measures taken by the parliament were contrary to the trust reposed in them, it was resolved the army should endeavour to put a stop to such proceedings: and thereupon our author, with two other members, and three officers, withdrew into a private room, where they agreed, as the best means to attain the end of the above resolution, "That the army should be drawn up the next morning, and guards placed in Westminster-hall, the court of requests, and the lobby, that none might be permitted to pass into the house but such as had continued faithful to the public interest." How they proceeded in the prosecution of this most arbitrary stretch of power may be seen at large in our histories.

The king being, in consequence of the above steps, taken off, and the house of peers voted both useless and dangerous, their next consideration was, how to carry on the executive part of government; to do which the better, they resolved to constitute a council of state, and impowered five members of the house of commons, among which was our author, to agree upon the number and persons fit to be proposed to the house for their approbation. The number they pitched upon was thirty-five, four of whom were lords; to which the house added the above five: so that the council of state consisted of forty members. The same five, or any three of them, were constituted a committee, to receive satisfaction touching

touching the affections of the public interest of every member who had not sat since the trial of the king, and to report the same, with the reasons of his absence, to the house.

The Scots having received and proclaimed Charles II. for their king, and preparing to march with an army into England, to compel the people of that kingdom to acknowledge him in the same capacity : Cromwell, who was recalled from Ireland (and on Sir Thomas Fairfax's refusal to march into Scotland, was made captain general of all the English forces,) one day, in the house, told colonel Ludlow, that he observed an alteration in his looks and carriage towards him, and desired a conference with him, which was consented to by our author, and in which Cromwell proposed to nominate him for lieutenant-general of horse in Ireland, and one of the commissioners for civil affairs in that kingdom. But the colonel having lately married, and purchased some lands, by which he had embarrassed his affairs too much to think of quitting England till they were put into some tolerable order, he would not seem to understand those hints, and even opposed the motion, both in the council of state and in the house, and solicited Cromwell not to insist on his nomination ; but in vain.

Soon after this conference Oliver Cromwell marched to Scotland, from whence (after the victory at Dunbar) he sent Ludlow his commission ; the parliament also ordered a thousand

land pounds to be advanced to him and his brother-commissioners, and directed the same sum to be paid them yearly : they also raised for him a troop of horse, consisting of a hundred men armed with back, breast, and head-pieces for defence, and pistols and musket-tons for offence ; and advanced them two months pay.

The lieutenant-general set sail for Ireland in the beginning of January 1650, and arrived, after a short passage, at the fort of Duncannon. Immediately he went to pay his respects to the lord-deputy, who ordered his troop into good quarters, both to refresh them and season them to the climate ; it having been observed, that the English horse were not fit for service, till they had been seasoned for some time with the air and provisions of that country, and then entered, with the lieutenant-general and the other commissioners from England, upon the consideration of the administration of justice, pursuant to the instructions sent them from the parliament. After this, our author went to the army, and signalized himself by his bravery in several actions, the particulars of which he has given in his memoirs.

Upon the death of Ireton, which happened November twenty-six 1651, the commissioners of the parliament immediately sent letters to all the officers of the army, which consisted of upwards of two-and-twenty thousand foot, and between seven and eight thousand

sand horse and dragoons, to yield obedience to our lieutenant general ; who, on the commissioner's promising to assist him, took upon himself the chief command, till it should be otherwise determined by the house.

He continued still to act with the utmost vigour in the reduction of this kingdom, as long as he held this command. In the meantime he constantly expressed a jealousy of Cromwell's ambitious views ; and the following year, lieutenant-general Fleetwood was appointed in his room, as well to prepare the way for Cromwell's intended change, as to lessen our author's power, of whose opposition to his designs the usurper was very jealous.

But while these things were transacting in England, Ludlow was very active in suppressing those Irish who still continued in arms ; and was thus employed in the county of Fermanagh, when he received advice, that Fleetwood, having landed at Waterford, was gone to Kilkenny ; thither he hastened to attend him with the rest of the commissioners, who for that purpose set out from Dublin ; to which city Ludlow returned with them, after he had saluted the commander in chief, and assured him he was resolved to obey his orders ; and he was soon followed by Fleetwood and his family.

The war in Ireland being now ended, while Ludlow and the commissioners were busy in settling the affairs of that nation, Cromwell was paving his way, by dissolving the
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the long parliament, and cajoling the council of officers, in order to play the supreme power into his own hands; which, considering the variety and multiplicity of obstacles, he effectuated in a very short period. But the news reaching Ireland, of his having taken upon himself the title and office of protector, Ludlow used his utmost endeavours to prevent his being proclaimed in Ireland; but without success: whereupon he refused to act any longer as a commissioner of the parliament. But having received his military commission of lieutenant-general of the horse, from the parliament, he resolved to keep it as long as he could, and to act under it, in order to obtain those ends; the principal of which, says he, were to bring those to justice, who had been guilty of the blood of many thousands of English protestants, and to restore to the remaining English the lands which the Irish had dispossessed them of.

Not long after the departure of Henry Cromwell from Ireland, who was sent into that kingdom by his brother, and civilly received by Ludlow, though he inveighed much against the usurpation of Oliver, there appeared much disaffection in the army in England; some of whom signed a petition to the protector; three hundred copies of which, together with another writing called the Memento, were sent in a box directed to Ludlow in Ireland, accompanied with a short unsubsribed letter. These, on perusal, appeared

to him to contain proper motives to excite people to endeavour rescuing themselves from the oppressions they laboured under ; and accordingly he dispatched as many as he could. But Fleetwood having information of the affair, dispatched a messenger to Monckton, the deputy, to enquire into the truth. Who immediately sent for our author, and after some conference about the papers, told him he had received an order from Cromwell some time ago, signifying, that, as he (Ludlow) had declared himself dissatisfied with the present government, he, the deputy, should be discharged from his command in the army : adding, that he had hitherto concealed it, but would not any longer, lest he should be accounted confederate in what he had now done. And after our Author had refused all expedients proposed for an amicable conciliation of matters, the deputy sent him word, that he might make his option, whether he would be confined in Ireland or go to London ; which, if he would give his word to appear before Cromwell, and not act any thing against him in the mean time, he should be at liberty to do when he pleased ; upon which he chose the latter, but was desired to defer his journey for a couple of months, under pretence that matters being not quite easy in England, Cromwell might be reduced on his arrival to treat him with more severity than he would chuse ; ordering him, at the same time, a sum of money for his support during his stay, and also to de-
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fray the expences of his voyage. But, before the expiration of the two months, Henry Cromwell arrived in Ireland to take the government upon him; and our author's departure was deterred from time to time, till having, by the intercession of his wife, obtained a promise from that governor, that, though he would not grant a warrant for her husband to go, yet neither would he order him to stay, though he thought this last would be the best for him, he determined at all events to set off, which he accordingly did, accompanied to the shore by near two hundred people, and embarked (having left a letter for colonel Cromwell) and the next day at noon he arrived at Beaumaris harbour, where the governor met him at his landing, and furnished him horses to carry himself and family to the town; and after dinner informed him, in the civillest manner he could, that one captain Shaw was arrived from Ireland, with an order from colonel Cromwell, and the rest of the council there, for the detention of him till the protector's pleasure was known; at the same time introducing Shaw, and producing the order signed by colonel Cromwell, Corbet, and two others. In the evening he was conveyed to a widow's house in the town, where a guard was set over him; a centinel being placed at the stair-head.

Here he remained six weeks, and had once a very narrow escape from being sent to the castle, in consequence of a fresh order from
Whitehall;

Whitehall; but at last captain Shaw brought an order for his discharge, provided he signed an engagement, sent ready drawn from London, never to act against the government then established. This he absolutely refused to sign, unless under certain explanations, which at last the governor agreed to accept; and he was thereupon discharged, and set forwards for London, where he arrived the tenth of December 1655.

On Wednesday the twelfth (having waited on Fleetwood the night of his arrival) he received a message from Cromwell, to attend him at Whitehall, whither he went about eight in the evening, and found the protector in his chamber, with Lambert, colonel Sydenham, Mr. Walter Strickland, and colonel Montague; soon after, Fleetwood coming in, there ensued a long discourse, which being over, Ludlow was desired to withdraw into the next room, where Fleetwood soon came to him, and laboured hard to bring him to enter into an engagement, though for a week; to which he replied, "he would not willingly do it for an hour:" Fleetwood would then have had him engage himself afresh to him, but this he also refused him, saying, "he had already gone as far as he possibly could, looking upon himself to be sufficiently obliged, by the conditions of his present engagement;" and having so said, returned to his lodging. Soon after this, he endeavoured to draw major-general Harrison, and the famous Hugh Peters, over

to his opinion. So that the protector finding it necessary to call another parliament, and being very apprehensive a majority, in spite of all his care, might be returned of those who were against him and his schemes, resolved, at all events, to hinder Ludlow from either standing himself, or in any way intermeddling in the election: and to that end summoned him (together with Bradshaw, Sir Henry Vane, and colonel Rich) to appear before the council at Whitehall. Here he was again charged with practices against the new government, and required to give security in the sum of five thousand pounds, that he would not act against Cromwell: which unless he did, he was threatened to be secured. But this he absolutely refused, and said, He was very ready to submit to a legal trial, if he had done any thing amiss, only desiring to enjoy what he and all had sought for, a free government by consent; that it was from the duty he owed the public he refused to give the security required, conceiving it to be against the liberty of the people, and contrary to the known law of England, in proof of which he produced the act of the 16th and 17th of Charles I. for preventing the council-table from imprisoning any of the free-born people of England; asserting, that, for his part, he durst not do any thing tending to the violation of it. Cromwell asked, if the council of state, and army, had not committed many? to which he replied, " the council of state had the authority

rity of parliament, and the army did it only in time of war, and in both cases to secure persons, that they might be brought to a legal trial. To this Cromwell returned, with some warmth, "A justice of peace may commit, and shall not I?" "He is a legal officer," answered our author, "and authorised by the law to do so, which you could not be, though you were a king; because if you do wrong, there is no remedy can be had against you." He desired, therefore, to be referred to a justice of peace, if he had offended against the law, that he might be proceeded with according to law. Upon this he was ordered to withdraw into an adjoining room, and presently after received permission to return to his lodging, whither, in less than a quarter of an hour, he was followed by Mr. Strickland, one of the council, who pressed him earnestly to comply; but he told him, "That, having contended for the liberty of others, he was not willing to give away his own, and be made a precedent to the prejudice of his countrymen." A messenger from the board serving him with an order, to give in the security within three days, on pain of being taken into custody, put an end to their conversation, and he not obeying their order, serjeant Dendy, a day or two after, brought a warrant, signed by Henry Laurence, the president, to apprehend him. Some of his relations discoursed with the serjeant, who thereupon left him in his own lodgings; and Cromwell, the next day, meeting his brother, Thomas Ludlow, pro-

posed his engaging for the lieutenant general, which was agreed to very readily by the brother, but without our author's consent. However, after this he went into Essex, where he spent the remaining part of the summer, which, he says, fully answered the protector's intention, to prevent him from going down into Wiltshire during the elections in 1657; and, indeed, he had no inclination thereto, though he was nominated for the knight of the shire by many of his friends. Our author stayed in Essex till Oliver was seized with his last sickness, when, appearing in town, Fleetwood was desired to enquire the reason of his coming at that critical season; to whom he gave satisfaction on that head, the chief motive of his journey being to fetch his mother and father-in-law into the country, that the family might be all together.

Upon Oliver's death, which happened two days after, his son Richard being proclaimed protector, a new parliament was called, wherein several of the republican party being returned, to prevent their doing any mischief, an oath was required from every member, that he would not act or contrive any thing against the protector, which Ludlow scrupling to take, refrained for some time from going to the house, till Sir Walter St. John (one of those appointed to administer that oath) introducing him, he was admitted without taking it. He had sat but a little above a week, when he was complained of, and a motion made and second-

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ed, that the oath might be peremptorily required ; on which a debate arose, which, after lasting two or three hours, was put a stop to by an accidental discovery of a person's sitting there who was no member, and who, upon examination, proved to be disordered in his senses ; this put an end to all further enquiry about the oath. And now those of the republican interest exerted their utmost endeavours to obstruct the measures of the court, but without success, till they joined with the party of Wallingford-house, that is, the army ; by which means the long parliament, called the rump-parliament, was restored, and our author, who had been very active in obtaining this revolution, took, with the rest, possession of his seat again. The same day they appointed him one of the committee of safety, which consisted of seven members of parliament, and one other, who was not so ; which committee was impowered to sit eight days, the house intending in that time to constitute a council of state. Soon after they offered our author a regiment, which he accepted at the persuasion of Sir Arthur Haslerig ; and, in a little time, they named him to be one of the council of state, every member of which was to swear, he would be true and faithful to the commonwealth, in opposition to Charles Stuart, or any single person.

Notwithstanding the house had appointed Fleetwood, Lambert, Desborough, and other officers of the army, to be of the council of

state, the Wallingford-house party were far from being satisfied; wherefore, to prevent any ill consequence, and hinder the sword as far as they could, from reassuming the power, a bill was brought in for constituting Fleetwood, Sir Arthur Haslerig, Lambert, Desborough, Berry, and Lodow, commissioners for naming and approving officers: and another, for making Fleetwood commander in chief during that session, or till the house should make further order therein. In which bill it was ordered, that, for the future, the speaker, and not the lieutenant-general, should sign the commissions of such officers as should be appointed by the parliament, and deliver them with his own hands from the chair; and at the same time that these two bills were passed, the house passed a vote, that the parliament should be dissolved the May following. But this vote was not sufficient to please the officers, who were so highly disgusted at the two bills, that our author and others of his party were obliged to give them a meeting at colonel Desborough's, to soften the affair: and though every thing was urged on behalf of the parliament, that the lieutenant-general, and his friend Sir Arthur could think of, yet the officers would not consent to receive new commissions according as the bill directed, until colonel Hacker and our author, by leading the way with their regiments, rendered the rest more tractable.

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The Wallingford-house party finding by this, that Ludlow was an obstacle to their design of governing arbitrarily by the sword, recommended him to the house for the post of commander in chief of the forces in Ireland; which, with some reluctance, and after obtaining an order, that, when he had settled the affairs of that kingdom, he should be at liberty to return to England, he accepted. Soon after which, Henry Cromwell, pursuant to an order of the house, returned from Ireland, and desired the lieutenant-general to be at the council of state when he attended them; but our author could not, being employed in preventing the sale of Hampton-court, for which he was much blamed by some of his party. He went to Ireland in August 1659, but remained not long in that kingdom, though receiving an account on his landing at Beaumaris on his return, that the army had turned the parliament out of the house, and again resumed the power into their own hands. This astonishing news made him hesitate, whether he should go back to his command, or pursue his journey to London; but after weighing circumstances carefully, he determined for the latter, and accordingly set forwards. At Conway he was met by colonel Barrow, who had been dispatched from the council of officers at London, to acquaint those in Ireland of the alteration of affairs; and having read the letters he brought, our author delivered those for the officers in Ireland to him again, and con-

tinued his journey to Chester, where he halted a day. There he received another packet from London, wherein he found the army's scheme of government, pursuant to what they had set forth in their petition, with the addition, "that all who had any military command were to receive new commissions from Fleetwood;" and the messenger further acquainted him, "that there was a committee of safety appointed, consisting of twenty one members, of which he was one, and that he was also continued one of the committee for nomination of officers." The day after he received this advice, he set out for London, where he arrived on Friday the twenty-ninth of October 1659, and immediately went to wait on Fleetwood, but refused to go with him to the council of officers, then sitting at Wallingford-house, on some letters from Monk, whom Fleetwood charged with insincerity: our author told him, "that whatever Monk's designs were, his public declarations had a better appearance than those of Wallingford-house, who were for governing by the sword." When this party prevailed both in the council of officers and that of state, to have a new parliament called, our author opposed it with all his might, in defence of the rump; and when a new parliament was determined on, he proposed to qualify the power of the army by a council of twenty-one, to be chosen by the council of officers, who should settle the differences, when any arose between the army
and

and the parliament, under the denomination of the conservators of liberty; which being agreed to, he gave in a list of persons to be chosen, and they proceeded to ballot upon it: but here, breaking in upon the rule they had established, and putting many persons names to the ballot which were not contained in his list, our author grew impatient, and told them openly, "that seeing they intended only to carry on a faction, and govern the nation by the sword, he would have no more to do with them."

The city of London was in some confusion at this time, occasioned by the apprentices petitioning the aldermen and common-council for a free-parliament, which had brought the military power to take possession of that capital; but the magistrates applying to the council of officers to be relieved, and to have the guards withdrawn, six of that council, of which number they constrained our author to be one, were appointed to meet them at Whitehall; at this meeting lieutenant-general Ludlow earnestly dissuaded the Londoners from joining the royalists; "at which," he says, "divers of them seemed much surprised, because they had taken other resolutions." Our author, therefore, seeing every thing going into confusion, resolved to go to his post in Ireland, and acquainted lieutenant-general Fleetwood with his intention; and also went to take his leave of the principal officers, but found they had altered their minds about calling a new

parliament, on receiving advice, that the fleet had unanimously declared for the old one. This made him delay his journey a little while, but the officers varied again from that determination, the same afternoon; whereupon he fully resolved to set out the next day, which he accordingly did; but had the satisfaction to know, before he left London, that it was at last carried to restore the old parliament, which was done two or three days after.

While Ludlow was on the road to Chester, in his way to Ireland, he received from his brother-in-law, Kempson, an account of the posture of affairs in Ireland, which made him hasten his journey; but, on his arrival in Bullock's-bay, not thinking it proper to land till he had received a full information of things, he sent a letter of notice of his arrival to Sir Hardress Waller, and the other officers, acquainting them with the restitution of the parliament (which they had declared for) and that he was come to join with them in support of their authority. Mr. Kempson and other officers came on board the lieutenant-general, and the former informed him, that things were in a much worse state than they were when he wrote last to him, and that the council of officers would not receive him. And the next day our author was told, by one of his servants, that those in Dublin, as soon as they heard of his arrival, had sent a party of horse to seize him at his house, who not finding him there, had concealed themselves in ambush to take

take him on his landing. He also received a message from Dublin by captain Lucas, who acquainted him with the resolution of their council of officers concerning him.

Finding the passage to Dublin barred against him, he set sail for Duncannon, where he had placed one captain Skinner, as commander, in whom he had great confidence, and who did not deceive him; but, with the whole garrison, received him with the utmost demonstrations of joy.

The lieutenant-general having been informed at Passage, about a league from Duncannon, that the governor of Waterford had promised to adhere to him on his arrival, immediately sent him notice, that he was come to Duncannon, and took all care to victual and recruit his little garrison. He also wrote to the garrisons of Ross, Wexford, Cork, and Kinsale, encouraging them to persevere in their duty to the parliament; and re-victualled his man of war with beef and other necessaries, which he procured from his own estate of Ballymagger.

He had scarce finished these cautionary steps when he was blocked up by a party of horse under the command of colonel Edmund Temple.

Whilst this siege, or rather blockade, was carrying on, our author received a long letter from the council at Dublin; wherein they laid many things to his charge, in order to injure his reputation; the principal of which were,

that, on the interruption of the parliament by the Wallingford house party, instead of returning to his duty in Ireland, he had continued his journey to London; that he had encouraged colonel John Jones in his correspondence with the army-party in England; refused to wait the sitting of the parliament on their late restitution; and posted away to Ireland, in order to serve the army by his interest there; and, that, finding Dublin secured for the parliament, by those who obeyed their orders, and who would obey him as commander in chief, if the parliament thought fit to continue him in that post, he had not only refused to return to England till their pleasure was known in that respect, but had endeavoured, by all hostile means, to get the power into his hands; at the same time neglecting his duty in parliament; which 'honour they pretended his miscarriages had rendered him incapable of.

To this long and heavy charge, he wrote a very full answer; but, before he had sent it away, he received an account, that the parliament had acknowledged all that those at Dublin had done was for their service: and, in about a week after, received a letter sent from ~~abence~~, signed Lenthall, requiring him, (as they had also required Jones and Corbet, the two other commissioners) to attend the parliament with an account of the Irish affairs; which request he complied with the very first opportunity, and accordingly embarked on
board

board a Dutch vessel, having first given positive orders to captain Skinner, not to deliver up the fort of Duncannon, unless they were directed so to do by the parliament or himself.

Soon after his arrival at Milford-Comb, he found, by the public news, that Sir Charles Coote had exhibited a charge of high-treason against him : which made him quicken his diligence to reach London. Arriving there, he first went to consult and expostulate with Sir Arthur Haslerig, and then took his place in the house, and got a copy of his charge. He then moved to be heard upon that head, but could only prevail to have a day appointed for that purpose ; but, on that day, was again put off, so that he could never be heard thereupon.

This motion was made by Ludlow on the first of February, 1660, according to our present reformation of the style : two days after which, colonel, afterwards general, Monk, marched into London, and was waited on by our author the same evening.

The commission for lodging the command of the forces in England and Scotland in seven persons being near expiration, a new act was made to vest it in five, any three of them to be a quorum, of which colonel Monk was the first ; but our author was left out, notwithstanding he obtained the command of the forces in Ireland to be inserted in the said commission.

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This step gave some umbrage to general Monk; whereupon our author made him a visit, in order to settle matters between them, and to efface any ill impressions the general might have received against our author or his party; and thought he had succeeded: but finding soon after that matters were tending apace to overturn his darling scheme, he applied to Sir Arthur Haslerig to draw their scattered forces together, in order to oppose Monk and his confederates; but Sir Arthur would not listen to the proposal.

News arriving shortly after from Ireland, that Sir Charles Coote had seized the castle of Dublin, and not only expelled Sir Hardress Waller from thence, but likewise removed him and several others from their command in the army, he advised Sir Arthur to adjourn the parliament to the Tower, and to draw their troops together; but was again answered by him, that all would be well, and that Monk would be honest, even after he had seen the London populace, by his encouragement, burn the Ramp, as they then called the remains of the long parliament, whose power was openly contemned, and whose very name was grown odious to the majority of the nation.

The election of a new parliament had been some time determined, as we have mentioned before; notwithstanding which, the Republicans endeavoured to evade their dissolution, by ordering writs to be issued to fill up the vacant

vacant seats in the house ; but the speaker refused to sign the warrant for their being sealed. This occasioned much confusion ; in the midst of which Ludlow, foreseeing the consequences of these disputes amongst themselves, pressed very earnestly to be heard concerning the charge of high-treason lodged against him from Ireland ; “ alledging,” says he, “ for the reason of my importunity, that, though my enemies in that country had, by their late actions, manifested, to all the world, that their enmity to the parliament was much greater than to me ; yet, being uncertain what sort of men might soon have the principal influence in that house, I could not believe they would think it convenient, that a charge of high-treason, how frivolous soever, should be transmitted to them against one of their old and faithful servants.” But he was as unsuccessful in the house in his own cause, as he had been without doors in what he esteemed that of the public.

The members who had been secluded by the lieutenant-general, Ireton, and others, in 1648, having obtained Monk's consent for returning to the house, our author was so highly irritated thereat, that he withdrew himself from the service of the house, but frequently appeared in Westminster-hall, to shew he did not decline serving the public ; nor was, as had been thrown out, at the head of any forces ; and was followed in this procedure by Mr. George Montague and others,

every

Every thing now tending to forward the restoration of king Charles II. the commonwealth's men grew very uneasy at the dangerous situation of their affairs; and held frequent meetings to consult measures for preserving their power; at one of which the lieutenant-general tells us he took the liberty to make the following propositions:

“ That seven of the council of state, and three of the generals that had been appointed by the parliament, should sign such orders as were necessary for carrying their designs into execution. That Moss's regiment, which lay in Kent, and not far from London; and another, which lay in the Borough of Southwark, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Fainley; consisting in all of more than two thousand old soldiers, of whose integrity and affections we had good assurances, should be ordered to the Tower to join colonel Morley's regiment already there, and would be ready to receive them, having sent to me to let me know, that the Tower should be at my command whensoever I pleased to desire it. That the commanders of these forces should take six months provisions, giving tickets for the quantity, payable by the parliament. That the militia of London, which had been lifted during the government of the parliament, should be authorised to meet as there should be occasion, to assist the forces in the Tower. That four or five places of rendezvous should be appointed for the forces of the
army,

army, which lay scattered up and down in several parts of the nation; and, that officers should be agreed upon to appear at the head of them. That the soldiers, both horse and foot, should have the liberty to follow either their old officers, or to appoint new. That these officers, who should prevail on the major part of the men to follow them, should be continued in their respective posts; and, that those who appeared heartily to promote this design, though they could not persuade the greater part of their soldiers to follow them, should have provisions made for them equal to their merits. That the country militia, both horse and foot, should be authorised to draw together, and be impowered to seize and disarm such persons in the respective counties as were known to be enemies to the commonwealth. That the fleet should be ordered at the same time; and to send one or 2000 seamen to the assistance of those in the Tower. That all who acted by the parliament's authority in their service, should be justified in so doing. That the governors of garrisons should be required to refuse obedience to any power, which was not derived from the lawful authority of the parliament; and, that a declaration should be forthwith prepared, to shew the grounds and reasons, together with the necessity of these proceedings."

Whether these proposals, or any part of them, were received, or attempted to be carried

ried into execution, he does not tell us; only observes, That, “we, being ripe for the correction of Heaven, nothing could prevent it; our enemies (i. e. those who were so to the commonwealth) succeeding in all their attempts, and all our endeavours proving abortive.”

Soon after this, Hull was taken from major-general Overton, and the militia also was new modelled, and put under persons more in the interest of monarchy than it was before: after which, the famous long parliament was dissolved: whereupon our lieutenant general began to act with more caution, and to appear less frequently in Westminster-hall than he had used to do: and receiving advice that Sir Arthur Hallerig was now convinced that general Monk’s design was to restore the king; and, that the new council of state had resolved to seize Mr. Scott, our author began to provide, in the best manner he could, for his own security, seldom lying at his house in town, and soon after setting out for the country.

He had not travelled far before a messenger overtook him with the news, that, about an hour and a half after he left the town, the council had sent him a summons (as they also had done to colonel John Jones, colonel Thomlinson, and Mr. Miles Corbet, the other commissioners for Ireland) to attend them. On receiving this intelligence, he quitted his

wife

wife and chariot, and, having provided a led horse, crossed the heath between Egham and Bagshot, and, avoiding the public road, came in the evening to his cousin Mr. Robert Wallon's house at Farley, where he staid but two nights: from thence he continued his rout to Sutton, and at last took up his quarters at Salisbury; where he received advice that his fellow commissioners had, on attending the council of state, been obliged to enter into an engagement not to disturb the reigning power; and this piece of information made him look on his escape in a much higher light than he had yet done, as it convinced him he had avoided being imprisoned, since, he says, He could not have consented to have signed such an engagement now, any more than he could under Oliver Cromwell; and, consequently, being detained in custody till the return of Charles II. what would have been his fate then, who reckoned it an honour to have been one of the judges of Charles I. is pretty easy to be determined.

From Salisbury he proceeded to his several estates in Wiltshire, in order to raise what money he could amongst his tenants against the evil day; which, with respect to him, he found approaching very fast, the Royalists having every where the superiority over the Commonwealth's-men; and that to such a degree, that, though nineteen votes out of twenty-six chose the lieutenant-general for the borough of Hindon, part of his own estate, yet the ca-
valiers

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valiers prevailed to have a double return made, in favour of Sir Thomas Thynne; but this was set aside above, and the lieutenant-general reputed duly elected.

Having settled his affairs as well as he could in the time, he resolved to keep himself out of the reach of those in power till it was seen what turn things would take; and having lain thus concealed about eight days, he ventured to pay a visit to his wife at Salisbury, with whom he stayed a night, and the next day received an account that Lambert had made his escape from the Tower. This made the lieutenant-general return to his place of secrecy in haste; and here he received several messages from Lambert; but, as that officer had fixed no plan, nor cared to make any declarations of his intentions, the lieutenant-general was cautious how he embarked either himself or his friends, in an undertaking which never promised more than it produced; viz. destruction to those who were engaged therein.

However, while they were in treaty together, our author took the prudent steps he thought necessary for the support of the declining cause; and might have created some trouble to the government, had Lambert been equally cautious, equally active and steady; but the suddenness of his defeat put an end to all expectations from any projects of that kind.

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The time for the meeting of the house being now near at hand, the lieutenant-general repaired to London, and lodged with a friend in Holborn; where he had not resided many days, before he had the mortification to hear, That "the nominal house of commons," as he is pleased to call them, "tho' called by a commonwealth, writ in the name of the keepers of the liberties of England, passed a vote, That the government of the nation should be by a king, lords, and commons; and, that Charles Stuart should be proclaimed king of England, &c."

But the lieutenant-general was something comforted, even under this heavy misfortune, by receiving advice, that he had again escaped the malice of his pursuers, who had sent orders, it seems, to seize his person in the west, the very day he arrived from thence. This obliged him, on receiving an order, to attend his duty in the house, to apply to Mr. Arthur Annesley, for instructions how to behave in this critical conjuncture; who advised him to take his seat as soon as he could; which he accordingly did.

H. now also sent orders to collect his rents, and dispose of his effects in Ireland; but was prevented from doing either by Sir Charles Coote, who seized both, the stock alone amounting to fifteen hundred pounds. Sir Charles also having seized Cooke, the solicitor against Charles I. but then chief-justice in Ireland; and others thereupon, without war-
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rant or authority, according to our author, seizing colonel Harrington in England; the cavaliers in the house of commons easily obtained an order to seize all who had signed the warrant for the king's execution, and consequently the lieutenant-general: but he received timely notice enough to keep out of their reach, and to consult with his friends the properest methods for his security; the principal one now advised and practised being to shift his abode very frequently.

During his recess, the house was busy in preparing the bill of indemnity; in which he was more than once very near being inserted as one of the seven persons to be excepted from all benefit thereby, either as to life or estate; wherein general Monk and his lady, and colonel Skipwith, were very assiduous; and, though they failed in that particular, yet they carried their point in another; which was the issuing out a proclamation soon after the king's return, for all the late king's judges to surrender themselves in fourteen day's time, on pain of being excepted out of the said act of indemnity.

This alarmed the lieutenant-general greatly, and occasioned a consultation to be held with his friends; where it was debated, Whether, as he was not one of the seven excepted in the bill of indemnity, he should not surrender himself according to the proclamation, as Mr. William Heveningham, Mr. Simon Mayne, and other of the late king's judges, had already
ready

ready done ; but, being divided in their opinions ; and some, who seemed to be best versed in the then state of affairs, not encouraging him to venture his life on such a risk, there being strong expectations that the lords would encrease the number to be excepted, he chose to wait the event a little longer before he put himself into their power : and, though he was inclined to surrender, that he might have the more time to settle his private affairs, yet he first drew up a petition, setting forth, that, though he had been engaged in the establishing a commonwealth, during which he had behaved with as much tenderness as affairs would permit ; yet, now the former government being re established, he thought it his duty to submit thereto, that he might be entitled to the protection thereof.

This he sent by his wife to Mr. Annesley for his opinion ; but that gentleman (being now, says our author, sworn a privy-counsellor) on perusal said, He thought it would be better to say nothing, than endeavour to justify any thing that had been done.

Upon this, he sent his wife to the earl of Ormond, to ask his advice how to demean himself ; who made large promises, but would enter into no particulars, unless she would discover whether her husband was still in England ; as to which she begged his excuse.

The lieutenant-general then sent her to Sir Harbottle Grimston, speaker of the house of

commons, to acquaint him with her husband's difficulties and doubts. Sir Harbottle entered very freely into the affair with her, telling her, He believed the house of lords would be content with what was already done; but, if they should not, it would be the most horrid thing in the world, if the house of commons should join in excepting any man who had rendered himself; letting her know, at the same time, that there was no undertaking for what they would not do; but that he would consult Mr. Hollis, and other leading men, with whom he should dine that day, and inform himself fully in every particular; and would then give her the best advice he could.

The consequence was, that they were unanimous of opinion, 'That the house would never be guilty of so unworthy an action; and, therefore, the lieutenant-general's best way would be to come in; and, to make it both the safer and easier, Sir Harbottle granted him his warrant to protect him from arrests by the way; and promised to speak to the serjeant to be moderate in his demands: which he accordingly did; and the lieutenant-general surrendered.

As this surrender was chiefly made to get time and opportunity to settle his affairs, the bail he procured were not very substantial; and these he honestly told, That, if he found his life was at all in danger, he would go off, if possible. He therefore kept the strictest guard

guard during the sitting of the house every day, to prevent being seized by any order of theirs during the contests about the bill, which was hotly debated in the house of lords; where the royal party seemed inclined to except all the judges of Charles I. and did add several to the bill, even of those who had come in upon the proclamation: yet the lieutenant-general was fortunate enough to escape being named; and well it was for him that he did so; for the house of commons confirmed the additions made by the lords, with very little restrictions, no less than nineteen who had surrendered themselves being inserted; and delivered over by the serjeant at arms to the lieutenant of the tower, as would the lieutenant-general have been (though not yet inserted) had he not withdrawn himself to Richmond, on notice that the lieutenant of the Tower, Sir John Robinson, would move the house, that all the persons in the serjeant's custody might be delivered up to him.

On notice of these proceedings, and that there was much clamour at his secreting himself, he came privately to town, and again sent his wife to Sir Harbottle Grimston for advice; who was still positive for his surrendering himself into custody: at which she hesitating, he told her, That he would wash his hands of her husband's blood; by assuring her, that, if he would surrender himself, his life would be as safe as his own; but, if he refused to hearken to that advice, and should

happen to be seized, he was like to be the first man they would execute, and she would be left the poorest widow in England. But the advice of another friend, backed with the friendly counsel of Lord Ossory, son to the marquis of Ormond, outweighed all that the speaker had said, and determined the lieutenant-general's resolution to quit England; which he instantly put in practice: and, having taken leave of all his friends, he went over London-bridge in a coach to St. George's church, in the Borough of Southwark, where he took horse; and, travelling all night, arrived at Lewes, a sea-port on the coast of Sussex, by break of day the next morning, without having passed through any principal town by the way.

On the Tuesday after he left London, he went on board a small open vessel prepared for him; but the weather being very bad, he quitted that, and took shelter in a larger, which had been got ready for him, and in which, but a few weeks before, Richard Cromwell had gone over to France; but struck upon the sands in going down the river, and lay then a-ground; and was hardly got on board this, when some persons came to search that he had quitted; but not suspecting any body to be in that ashore, did not examine it; by which means he escaped: and, waiting a day and a night for the storm to abate (during which the master of the vessel, whether he had heard that lieutenant-general
Ludlow

Ludlow was confined amongst the rest of the king's judges; the next morning he put to sea, and landed at Dieppe that evening before the gates were shut.

He was recommended to the house of one Madame de Caux, who, with great civility, making him an offer of going to her country-house, he readily embraced it; as well to avoid the many Irish then in the town, as to enjoy the liberty of taking the air.

Soon after his going off, a proclamation was published for apprehending and securing him, with a reward of three hundred pounds. One of these proclamations came to his hands, inclosed in a packet of letters; wherein his friends earnestly desired he would remove to some place more distant from England: and this made him resolve for Geneva. In pursuance of which resolution, he took the way of Roan for Paris, where he stayed several days to view what was remarkable.

From hence he travelled through Lyons to Geneva, where he arrived without meeting with any molestation by the way; and took up his quarters at one Mr. Perrôt's, who had served in the parliament army during the civil-war, and thereby had acquired the English language. Here he was joined by Messieurs Lisle and Cowley, two of those who sat as judges on the late king; and, together with them, made private application to one of the principal syndics for the protection of

the republic; which was secretly proposed; but his two companions not being satisfied therewith, would address the council publicly, against his advice; and thereby gave offence: so that they found it necessary to withdraw to Lausanne, and seek protection from the Canton of Bern; which was readily granted both for themselves and Ludlow, who, in a few days, followed them.

Here the lieutenant-general remained many years; in the two first of which, the dutchefs of Anjou, he says, (meaning Madame Henrietta, dutchefs of Orleans) offered a person of quality ten thousand crowns to assassinate him; but the bribe was refused, and the offer discovered to a merchant of Loufanne, who informed the lieutenant-general thereof.

In September, 1662, they were joined by seven more of their party; viz. Mr. serjeant Dendy, Mr. Nicholas Love. Mr. Andrew Broughton, Mr. Slingsby Bethel, Colonel Biscoe, Mr. William Say, and Mr. Cornelius Holland. These persons having passed through Bern in their way, and paid a visit to Mr. Humelius, the principal minister there, were by him informed of the lieutenant-general, and his companions, residing at Lausanne, in procuring the order for which he had been very serviceable; and now, by this means, gave them notice, that it would be much better for them to remove to Vevay, than to remain any longer where they were: on which,
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six of them, amongst whom was the lieutenant-general, accordingly removed thither; where they were received with great kindness, and visited in form by the chief magistrates. Here they were visited also by Mr. Algernon Sidney, as he returned from Rome; and who, when he left them, passed through Bern, where he did them some kind offices, and informed them; that it would be proper for those amongst them who could bear travelling, to make a tour to Bern, to pay their public acknowledgments to the lords, for their kind protection granted to them.

Hereupon the lieutenant-general (accompanied with Messieurs Love and Broughton, who were accidentally come over from Lausanne, set out for Bern.

Being arrived there, they first paid their respects to Mr. Humelius, as well to thank him for the many kind offices he had done for them, as to beg he would assist them in making their address to the council in as private a manner as they could; which he approved of, and obtained liberty for them to do it in what manner they thought proper; either by speech or writing: which latter method they chose, and presented by the hands of the advoyer, or president of the council, an address.

Our author, on this occasion, gives us the history of the first establishment of the republic of Bern; with which the lieutenant-general is so transported, that he forgets, while he ap-

plauds the spirit of freedom, that he is an advocate for the doctrine of assassination ; against which, in his own person, he raises great exclamation ; and, indeed, not without reason : for, soon after his return from Bern to Vevay, he received information that an Irishman, called Riardo, and said to belong to the dutch-ess of Orleans, was come to Turin, with an intention to form some design against the lives of our author and the other fugitives : and it was also reported, that king Charles II. had wrote to the magistracy at Bern, to demand the delivery of their persons.

Many letters from Turin, Geneva, Lyons, and other places, confirmed the account of Riardo's being in the country of Vaux upon the design mentioned ; adding, that so many, and such desperate persons, were engaged with him in the same design, that it would be next to impossible for the Englishmen to escape. On this they held a consultation, the result of which was not to quit Vevay ; but, as there was to be a fair there soon, to apply to the magistrates, to have the guards doubled that day, and to change their lodgings for one night.

These precautions were far from unnecessary ; for, on Sunday, the fourteenth of November, 1663, a Savoy boat, in which, as the lieutenant-general was afterwards told, were Dupow and Cerise, two of Lyons ; Dupre, a Savoyard, Riardo, and others, about
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an hour after sun-set, arrived at Vevay, and took up their quarters in several inns for that night. The next morning, as Monsieur Dubois, the lieutenant-general's landlord, went out to go to church, he observed the boat lying with four watermen in her, and their oars all in readiness to put off at a minute's warning. Near the boat were two persons cloaked sitting under a tree ; and, not far from them, two more in the same guise and posture. This alarmed Monsieur Dubois, who immediately conjectured their design must be against his lodgers ; whereupon he directly returned home to give them the alarm, being confirmed in his suspicion, from hearing there were six more, who had posted themselves, two in the way between his house and the church, and four in the market-place. By their appearance and garb, every one suspecting they had arms under their cloaks, had made the town's people observe them so much, that they all retired from the town towards the lake, and left the passage free for the lieutenant-general and his friends to go to church.

On their return from thence, hearing the strangers were at dinner at one of the inns, our author went down to take a view of the boat, which he found as before described, and a great quantity of straw, under which his landlord informed him they had concealed their arms ; and, that they had cut all the withs, which secured their oars, of the town-boats to prevent being pursued : however, finding

themselves watched so narrowly, and being apprehensive, from Monsieur Dubois's behaviour, that he would have them seized, soon after they had dined, they took to their boat and returned to Savoy.

This attempt, which was soon after acknowledged by Dupre and others concerned, alarmed the magistrates of Bern, who instantly sent special orders to the bailiffs of Vevay, Lausanne, and Morges, to be especially careful of the English under their protection; to search all boats coming from Savoy; to let no strangers reside in the town, without giving an exact account of themselves and their business; to double the guards at Vevay; and to give the lieutenant-general, and his companions, leave to ring the alarm-bell (which, being situated near one of the gates, they could do from one of their own apartments) in case of any sudden attack.

They were attempted again by some persons who came by land about eight days after; but these were also discovered, as were several who endeavoured to surprize them; but were always disappointed, except in the case of Mr. Lisle, in which they succeeded; and affected Mr. Say and colonel Bitcoe so much, that they removed first into Germany, and then to Holland; whither, upon the breaking out of the Dutch war soon after, with king Charles II. they earnestly invited the lieutenant-general to come; in order, as they said, to head a body

dy of Dutch troops, with which De Wit proposed to invade England ; but the States having tamely suffered Corbet, Okey, and Barkstead, three of the regicides, who had taken shelter at Delft, in 1661, to be trappaned, and sent prisoners to England, by Sir George Deaning, minister to king Charles II. the lieutenant-general would never hearken to any offers from the Hague or Amsterdam, unless the States would first disclaim that action, and next promise not to make any treaty without securing all who should engage with them : but, as this was never complied with, he did not stir from Vevay, though he had procured a pass from the count d'Estrades for that purpose, had he received the acknowledgments he demanded.

Whether the English court had any knowledge of these negotiations, or only guessed that something of this sort might be set on foot between the fugitives and the Dutch and French, we know not ; but she renewed and redoubled her diligence, through the dutchess of Orlean's and the queen-mother of England's means, to get the lieutenant general and his friends assassinated ; many attempts being made during this treaty, and even after the peace, with the Dutch, who took no sort of care of the Regicides. " But it pleased Providence," says he, " to frustrate not only those bloody designs, but also to baffle all the endeavours used by Charles II. and his mercenary tools, to

deprive any of the exiles of the protection granted, and more than once, openly avowed by the Canton of Bern to them.

By this means, the lieutenant-general not only survived Charles II. but lived to see the ruin of king James the Second, by the Revolution, in which he earnestly desired to have been an assistant; and left his retreat at Vevay, and came to England, in order to exert his old age in that cause; having some expectations of being employed in Ireland, against the popish and other adherents, as he styles him, to the abdicated king.

In this design he ventured to appear so openly in London, that an address was presented to his majesty, king William, from the house of commons, by the hands of Sir Edward Seymour, on the seventh of November, 1689; that he would be pleased to put out a proclamation for the apprehending of colonel Ludlow, attainted for the murder of king Charles I. &c. Whereupon, our author, being informed of the motion, hastened to the sea-side; whence, after waiting near a fortnight for a good wind, he returned to Vevay, where he continued till his death, which happened in the year 1693, and in the seventy-third year of his age.

His corpse was interred in the best church there, in which his lady erected a monument of her conjugal affection to his memory.



Lord Fairfax.

THE LIFE OF

THOMAS FAIRFAX..

THOMAS, lord Fairfax, a very active man in the parliament service during our unhappy civil-wars, in the last century, and at length general of their armies, was the eldest son of Ferdinando, lord Fairfax, by Mary, his wife, daughter of Edmund Sheffield earl of Mulgrave.

He was born at Denton, within the parish of Otley, in Yorkshire, in January, 1611. After a proper school-education, he studied some time in St. John's college, in Cambridge, to which, in his latter days, he became a benefactor.

He appears to have been a lover of learning, though he did not excel in any branch, except it was in the History and Antiquities of Britain; as will appear in the sequel.

Being of a martial disposition, even in his younger years; but finding no employment at home, he went and served in Holland as a volunteer, under the command of Horatio lord Vere, in order to learn the art of war. After some stay there, but how long we cannot learn, he came back to England; and, retiring to his father's house, married Anne,

fourth daughter of the said lord Vere. Here he contracted a strong aversion for the court ; either by the instigation of his wife, who was a zealous Presbyterian ; or else by the persuasion and example of his father, who grew actively and factiously disaffected to the king. So that, upon his majesty's first endeavours to raise a guard at York for his own person, (apprehended then by the people of those parts, and found, quickly after, to be the beginning of an army), he was entrusted by his party to prefer a petition to the king, beseeching him to hearken to his parliament, and not to take that course of raising forces : which petition the king endeavouring to shun, he pressed with that instance, and followed him so with it, on Heyworth-moor, in the presence of near one hundred thousand people, that, at last, he presented it upon the pommel of his saddle.

Shortly after, upon the actual breaking out of the civil-wars, in 1642, his father having received a commission from the parliament to be general of the forces in the north, he had a commission under him to be general of the horse.

His first exploit was at Bradford, in Yorkshire, which he obliged a body of Royalists to quit, and to retire to Leeds. A few days after, he and captain Hotham, with some horse and dragoons marching thither, the Royalists fled in haste to York ; and the former having advanced to Tadcaster, resolved to keep the
pass

pass at Wetherby, for securing the west riding of Yorkshire, from whence their chief supplies came. Sir Thomas Glemham attempted to dislodge them from thence; but, after a short and sharp encounter, retired; whereupon William Cavendish, earl of Newcastle, and Henry Clifford, earl of Cumberland, united their forces at York, amounting to nine thousand men, and resolved to fall upon Tadcaster; which being judged untenable, the lord Fairfax, and his son Sir Thomas, drew out to an advantageous piece of ground near the town; but, after a six hours fight, were beaten, and withdrew in the night to Selby.

Three days after, Sir Thomas marched in the night by several towns in which the Royalists lay; and came to Bradford, where he entrenched himself: but, having too many soldiers to lie idle, and too few to be upon constant duty, he resolved to attempt his enemies in their garrisons. Accordingly coming before Leeds, he carried that town, on the twenty-third of January, 1642-3, after a hot dispute; wherein a good store of ammunition fell into his hands, of which he stood in great want.

Next day he defeated a party of seven hundred horse and foot at Gisborough, under the command of colonel Slingsby: and then Wakefield and Doncaster yielded themselves to the parliament. But, for these overt-acts, William, earl of Newcastle, the king's general, proclaimed Sir Thomas and his father traitors,

tors, and the parliament did the like for the earl.

In the mean time, the lord Fairfax being denied succour from Hull, and the east riding, was forced to forsake Selby, and retire to Leeds : of which the earl of Newcastle having intelligence, he lay with his army on Clifford moor, to intercept him in his way to Leeds. Whereupon Sir Thomas was ordered by his father to bring what men he could to join with him at Sherburne, on purpose to secure his retreat.

To amuse the earl, Sir Thomas made a diversion at Tadcaster, which the garrison immediately quitted, and whereof he slighted the works. But the lord Goring marching to its relief, with twenty troops of horse and dragoons, defeated Sir Thomas upon Bramham-moor ; who also received a second defeat upon Seacroft-moor, where some of his men were slain, and many taken prisoners : so that he made his retreat with much difficulty to Leeds about an hour after his father was safely come thither : and, according to him, this was one of the greatest losses he ever received.

Leeds and Bradford being all the garrisons the parliament had in the north, Sir Thomas thought it necessary to possess some other place : therefore, with about one thousand one hundred horse and foot, he drove, on the twenty-first of May, the Royalists out of Wakefield, which they had seized again ; and took one thousand four hundred prisoners,
eighty

eighty officers, and great store of ammunition: but, shortly after, the earl of Newcastle coming to besiege Bradford, and Sir Thomas and his father having the boldness, with about three thousand men, to go and attack his whole army, which consisted of ten thousand men, on Adderton-moor, they were entirely routed by the earl, on the thirtieth of June, with a considerable loss.

Upon that, Halifax and Beverley being abandoned by the Parliamentarians, and the lord Fairfax having neither a place of strength to defend himself in, nor a garrison in Yorkshire to retire to, withdrew the same night to Leeds, to secure that town; but, by his order, Sir Thomas stayed in Bradford with eight hundred foot and sixty horse; wherein being surrounded, he was obliged to force his way through: in which desperate attempt, his lady, and many others, were taken prisoners.

At his coming to Leeds, he found things in great distraction, the council of war having resolved to quit the town, and retreat to Hull, which was sixty miles off, with many of the king's garrisons in the way. However, though there were fifty or sixty troops of Royalists within three miles of Leeds, he got safely to Selby, where there was a ferry, and and hardby one of the parliament's garrisons at Cawood.

Immediately after his coming to Selby, being attacked by a party of horse which pursued

sued him, he received a shot in the wrist of his left arm, which made the bridle fall out of his hand ; and, being among the nerves and veins, suddenly let out such a quantity of blood, that he was ready to fall from his horse; but taking the reins in the other hand, in which he had his sword, he withdrew himself out of the crowd ; and, after a very troublesome and dangerous passage, being often attacked, sometimes in the front, sometimes in the rear, he came to Hull.

Upon these repeated disasters, the Scots were hastily solicited to send twenty thousand men to the assistance of the Parliamentarians, who were thus likely to be overpowered.

The lord Fairfax, after his coming to Hull, made it his first business to raise new forces ; and, in a short time, had about one thousand five hundred foot, and seven hundred horse. The town being little, Sir Thomas was sent to Beverley with the horse and six hundred foot ; for, the marquis of Newcastle looking upon them as inconsiderable, and leaving only a few garrisons, was marched with his whole army into Lincolnshire, having orders to go into Essex, and block up London on that side. But he was hastily recalled northward, upon the lord Fairfax's sending out a large party to make an attempt upon Stanford-bridge, near York.

The marquis, at his return into Yorkshire, first dislodged from Beverley Sir Thomas, who
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retreated into Hull, to which the marquis laid siege, but could not carry the place. During the siege, the horse being useless, and many dying every day, Sir Thomas was sent with them over into Lincolnshire, to join the earl of Manchester's forces, then commanded by major-general Cromwell. At Horn-castle, or Wensby, they routed a party of five thousand men, commanded by Sir John Henderson; and, at the same time, the besieged in Hull making a sally upon the besiegers, obliged them to retire.

These two defeats together, the one falling heavy upon the horse, the other upon the foot, kept the royalists all that winter from attempting any thing; and the parliamentarians, after the taking of Lincoln, settled themselves in winter-quarters. But Sir Thomas had not long the benefit of them, for in the coldest season of the year, he was commanded by the parliament, to go and raise the siege of Nantwich in Cheshire, which the lord Byron, with an army from Ireland, had reduced to great extremity. He set forward from Lincolnshire December the twenty-ninth, and, being joined by Sir William Brereton, entirely routed, on the twenty-first of January, the lord Byron, who was drawn out to meet them. After that they took several garrisons in Cheshire, particularly Crew-house, &c.

Sir Thomas having stayed in those parts till the middle of March, was ordered back by
his

his father into Yorkshire, that by the conjunction of their forces he might be abler to take the field. They met about Ferry-bridge; and colonel Bellasis, governor of York, having advanced to Selby, to hinder their junction, they found means, notwithstanding, to join, and entirely defeated him, on the eleventh of April 1644. This good success rendered Sir Thomas master of the field in Yorkshire, and nothing then hindered him from marching into Northumberland, as he had been ordered by the parliament, to join the Scots, which were kept from advancing southward by the superior forces of the marquis of Newcastle, quartered at Durham. But that stroke having thrown York into the utmost distraction, the inhabitants speedily sent to the marquis to hasten back thither; by which means a way was left open for the Scots, who with cold and frequent alarms were reduced to great extremity. They joined the lord Fairfax at Wetherby, on the twentieth of April, and marching on to York, laid siege to that city, wherein the marquis of Newcastle had shut himself up; being closely pursued, on the way thither, by Sir Thomas, and major-general Lesley. And when prince Rupert was advancing out of Lancashire to the relief of that place, they marched with six thousand horse and dragoons, and five thousand foot, to stop his progress: but he eluding their vigilance, and fetching a compass about with his army, which consisted of above twenty-thousand men,

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got into York. Whereupon the parliamentarians raised the siege, and retired to Hefley-moor. The English were for fighting, and the Scots for retreating; which last opinion prevailing, they both marched away to Tadcaster, there being great differences and jealousies between the two nations. But the rash and haughty prince, instead of harrassing and wearying them out by prudent delays, resolved, without consulting the marquis of Newcastle or any of his officers, to engage them, on Marston-moor, eight miles from York, on the second of July; where that bloody battle was fought, which entirely ruined the king's affairs in the north. In this battle Sir Thomas Fairfax commanded the right wing of the horse.

The prince, after his defeat, retiring towards Lancashire, and the marquis, in discontent, sailing away to Hamburgh, the three parliament generals came and sat down again before York, which surrendered the fifteenth of July: and the north was now wholly reduced by the parliament's forces, except some garrisons. In September following, Sir Thomas was sent to take Helmesley-castle, where he received a dangerous shot in one of his shoulders, and was brought back to York, all being doubtful of his recovery for some time. Some time after, he was near being killed by a cannon-shot before Pomfret-castle. Hitherto he had acquitted himself with undaunted bravery, and with great and deserved applause
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from his party. Had he stopped here, or at such times, at least, as the king's concessions were in reason and equity a just ground for peace (much more than once) he might have been honourably ranked among the rest of those patriots, who took up arms only for the redress of grievances. But his boundless ambition, and his great desire to rule, made him weakly engage, with the utmost zeal, in the worst and most exceptionable parts of our unhappy civil wars. For, when the parliamentarians thought fit to new-model their army, and to lay aside the honest, but unsuccessful, Robert Devereux earl of Essex; they unanimously voted Sir Thomas Fairfax to be their general in his room: and he being easy, and forward to undertake or execute any thing he was put upon, was the more readily chosen by the two then prevailing parties of presbyterians and independants. To him Oliver Cromwell was joined with the title of lieutenant-general, but with intention of being his governor; and he was indeed the spring of all his succeeding motions. Sir Thomas being thus voted commander in chief of the parliament's army, on the twenty-first of January 1644-5, received orders from the parliament, speedily to come up from the North to London. Accordingly he repaired privately thither, February the eighteenth, and, the next day, was brought by four of the members into the house of commons, where he was highly complimented by
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the speaker, and received his commission of general.

The fifteenth of the same month, an ordinance was made, for raising and maintaining of forces under his command ; it having been voted, a few days, that he should nominate all the commanders in his army, to be taken out of any of the other armies, with the approbation of both houses.

March the twenty-fifth, the parliament ordered him one thousand five hundred pounds. The third of April, he went from London to Windsor, where he had appointed the general rendezvous, and continued there till the last day of that month, new-framing and modelling the army : or rather Cromwell doing it in his name. For, as Mr. Rapin well observes, Cromwell had such an influence over him, that he made him do whatever he pleased. April the sixteenth, he was appointed by both houses governor of Hull. In the mean time, Taunton, in Somersetshire, one of the parliament's garrisons, being closely besieged by the royalists, Sir Thomas Fairfax received orders to hasten to its relief, with eight thousand horse and foot. He began his march May the first, and by the seventh had reached Blandford in Dorsetshire : but the king taking the field from Oxford, with strong reinforcements brought by the princes Rupert and Maurice ; Sir Thomas was ordered by the parliament to send three thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse to relieve Taunton, and himself to re-
turn

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turn with the rest of his forces to join Oliver Cromwell and major-general Brown, and attend the king's motions. The fourteenth of May he was come back as far as Newbury; where having rested three nights, he went and forced Dennington-castle, and took a few prisoners. Thence he proceeded to lay siege to Oxford, as he was directed by the committee of both kingdoms, and sat down before it the twenty-second. But before he had made any progress in this siege, he received orders to draw nearer the king, who had taken Leicester by storm, May the thirty-first, and was threatening the eastern associated counties. Sir Thomas, therefore, rising from before Oxford, June the fifth, arrived the same day at March-Gibbon in Buckinghamshire; on the eleventh he was at Wooton, and the next day at Gilsborough in Northamptonshire: where he kept his head-quarters till the fourteenth, when he engaged the king's forces at the fatal and decisive battle of Naseby, and obtained a complete victory. The king, after that, retiring into Wales, Sir Thomas went and laid siege on the sixteenth to Leicester, which surrendered on the eighteenth. He proceeded, on the twenty-second, to Warwick, and thence (with a disposition either to go over the Severn towards the king, or to move westward as he should be ordered) he marched on through Gloucestershire towards Marlborough, where he arrived on the twenty-eighth. And here he received orders from the parliament, to hasten
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to the relief of Taunton, which was besiged again by the royalists; letters being sent at the same time into the associated counties, for recruits, and the arrears of pay for his army. But July the second, upon his coming to Blandford, he was informed that the lord Goring had drawn off his horse from before Tounton, and left his foot in the passages to block up that place, marching himself with the horse towards Langport. Sir Thomas Fairfax therefore advancing against him, defeated him there on the tenth of July; and, the next day, went and summoned Bridgewater, which was taken by storm on the twenty-second. He became also master of Bath on the thirtieth of the same month; and then laid close siege to Sherborne-caste, which was likewise taken by storm, August the fifteenth. And having besiged the rich and famous city of Bristol from the twenty-second of August to the tenth of September, it was surrendered to him by prince Rupert; at which the king was so excessively angry, that he ordered the prince to go and seek his subsistence somewhere beyond sea.

After this labourious expedition, the general rested some days at Bath, having sent out parties to reduce the castles of the Devizes and Berkley, and other garrisons between the West and London; and on the twenty-third moved from Bath to the Devizes, and thence to Warminster on the twenty-seventh, where he staid till October the eighth, when he went to
Lyme

Lyme in Dorsetshire. From this place he came to Tiverton, of which he became master on the nineteenth; and then, as he could not undertake a formal siege in the winter-season, he blocked up the strong city of Exeter, which did not surrender till the thirteenth of April following: in the mean time, he took Dartmouth by storm, January the eighteenth 1645-6; and several forts and garrisons at different times. February the sixteenth, he defeated the lord Hopton near Torrington. This nobleman retreating with his broken forces into Cornwall, Sir Thomas followed him. In pursuit of whom he came to Launceston on the twenty-eighth of February; and to Bodmin on the second of March.

On the fourth, Mount Edgecombe was surrendered to him, and Tovey about the same time.

At last, the parliament army approaching Truro, where lord Hopton had his head-quarters; and he being so hemmed in as to remain without possibility of escaping; Sir Thomas, on the fifteenth of March, sent and offered him honourable terms, if he would capitulate. After some delays and difficulties, the lord Hopton accepted of them; and a treaty was signed by commissioners on both sides, March the fourteenth; in pursuance of which, the royalists, consisting of above five thousand horse, were disbanded; and took an oath never to bear arms against the parliament. But before the treaty was signed, the lord Hopton
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and Arthur lord Capel, retired to Scilly, from whence they passed into Jersey, April the seventeenth, with Charles, prince of Wales, Sir Edward Hyde, and other persons of distinction. Thus the king's army in the West being intirely dispersed, by the vigilance and wonderful success of general Fairfax; he returned, March the thirty-first, to the siege of Exeter, which surrendered to him upon articles, the thirteenth of April, as I have already observed: and with the taking of this city ended our general's western expedition.

Having entirely subdued those parts, which were the greatest strength and almost the only refuge of the royalists, he marched, with wonderful speed, towards Oxford, the most considerable garrison remaining in the king's hands. Setting out therefore from Exeter, April the eighteenth, he came on the first of May, with his army before that city, and began to lay siege to it. The king, who was there, afraid of being enclosed, privately, and in disguise, departed from thence on the twenty-seventh of April; and, May the fourth, put himself into the hands of the treacherous Scots. Oxford surrendered upon articles, June the twenty fourth, as did Wallingford July the twenty-second. After the reduction of these places, Sir Thomas went and besieged Ragland castle in Monmouthshire, the property of Henry Somerset, marquis of Worcester, which yielded August the nineteenth. And thus, before Michaelmas 1646, the unhappy

king had neither army nor fortress left in England.

The next employment required of the general was, to disband major general Massey's brigade, which he did at the Devizes. About that time he was seized with a violent fit of the stone, under which he laboured many days. As soon as he was recovered, he took a journey to London; where he arrived November the twelfth, being met some miles off by great crowds of people, and the city militia. The next day, both houses of parliament agreed to congratulate his coming to town, and to give him thanks for his faithful services and wise conduct: which they did the day following.

Hardly had he time to rest, when he was called upon to convoy the two hundred thousand pounds that had been granted to the Scottish army, the price of their delivering up, or betraying, their sovereign, king Charles. For that purpose he set out from London, December the eighteenth, with a sufficient force, carrying at the same time fifty thousand pounds for his own army.

The king being delivered by the Scots to the parliament's commissioners, at Newcastle, January the thirtieth 1646-7, Sir Thomas went and met him, February the fifteenth, beyond Nottingham, in his way to Holmby; and his majesty stopping his horse, Sir Thomas alighted, and kissed his hand, and afterwards mounted, and discoursed with him as they

they rode along. The first of March following, after long debate in parliament, he was voted general of the forces that were to be continued. He came to Cambridge the twelfth of the same month, where he was highly caressed and complimented, and created master of arts.

Hitherto the crafty and ambitious Oliver Cromwell had permitted him to enjoy in all respects the supreme command, at least to outward appearance. And, under his conduct, the army's rapid success, after their new model, had much surprised the expectation of the most sanguine of their masters, the parliament. The question now was, to disband the majority of them after their work was done, and to employ a part of the rest in the reduction of Ireland. But either of the two appeared to all of them intolerable. For many having, from the dregs of the people, risen to the highest commands, and by plundering and violence amassing daily great treasures, they could not bear the thoughts of losing such great advantages. To maintain themselves therefore in the possession of them, Cromwell and his son-in-law Ireton, as good a contriver as himself, but a much better writer and speaker, devise how to raise a mutiny, in the army, against the parliament. To this end they spread a whisper among the soldiery, "That the parliament, now they had the king, intended to disband them; to cheat them of their arrears; and to send them

into Ireland, to be destroyed by the Irish." The army, enraged at this, were taught by Ireton to erect a council among themselves, of two soldiers out of every troop and every company, to consult for the good of the army, and to assist at the council of war, and advise for the peace and safety of the kingdom. These were called adjutators, or agitators, and wholly under Cromwell's influence and direction; the most active of them being his avowed creatures. Sir Thomas saw with uneasiness his power on the army usurped by these agitators, the forerunners of confusion and anarchy, whose design (as he observes) was to raise their own fortunes upon the public ruin; and that made him resolve to lay down his commission. But he was over-persuaded by the heads of the independent faction to hold it, till they had accomplished their desperate projects, of rendering themselves masters not only of the parliament, but of the whole kingdom. For, he joined in the several petitions, and proceedings of the army, that tended to destroy the parliament's power. About the beginning of June, he advanced towards London, to awe the parliament, though both houses desired his army might not come within fifteen miles of the same; June the fifteenth, he was a party in the charge against eleven of the members of the house of commons; in August, he espoused the speakers of both houses, and the sixty-six members that had fled to the army, and betrayed the pri-
vileges

vileges of parliament : and entering London, August the sixth, restored them in a triumph. For which he received the thanks of both houses, and was appointed constable of the Tower. He was no way confined in the violent removal of the king from Holmby, except Joyce, on the third of June; and waited with great respect upon his majesty at Sir John Cuit's house near Cambridge. Being ordered on the fifteenth of the same month, by the parliament, to deliver up the person of the king to such persons as both houses should appoint; that he might be brought to Richmond, where propositions were to be presented to him, for a safe and well grounded peace: instead of complying (though he seemed to do so) he carried his majesty from place to place, according to the several motions of the army. And yet he outwardly expressed upon most occasions, a due respect for him; so that his ambiguous conduct was owing to the fear he had, lest the parliament should become masters of the king's person. Thus, not having the will or resolution to oppose what he had not power enough to prevent, he resigned himself entirely to Cromwell; and though he wished nothing that Cromwell did, yet he contributed to bring it all to pass. It was this undoubtedly that made him concur, January the ninth 1647-8, in that cruel declaration of the army, wherein they adhered to the common's votes, of " No farther address or application to the
P 3 king;

king; and resolved to stand by the parliament, in what should be farther necessary for settling and securing the parliament and kingdom, without the king and against him."

His father dying at York, March the thirteenth, he became possessed of his title and estate; and was appointed keeper of Pontefract-castle, *Custus Rotarum* of Yorkshire, &c. in his room. But his father's death made no alteration in his conduct, he remaining the same servile and deluded tool to Cromwell's ambition. For he not only sent extraordinary supplies, and took all pains imaginable for reducing colonel Poyer in Wales; but also quelled, with the utmost zeal and industry, an insurrection of apprentices and others in London, April the ninth, who had declared for God and king Charles. The first of the same month, he removed his head-quarters to St. Edmund's-bury; and upon the royalists seizing Berwick and Carlisle; and the apprehension of the Scots entering England, he was desired, May the ninth, by the parliament, to advance in person into the North, to reduce those places, and to prevent any danger from the threatened invasion. Accordingly he began to march that way, the twentieth. But he was soon recalled, to quell an insurrection in Kent, headed by George Goring earl of Norwich, and Sir William Waller. Advancing therefore against them from London, in the latter end of May, he defeated a considerable
party

party of them at Maidstone. June the second, with his usual valour. But the earl, and about five hundred of the royalists, getting over the Thames at Greenwich into Essex, June the third, they were joined by several parties brought by Sir Charles Lucas, and Arthur lord Capel, which made up their numbers about four thousand; and went and shut themselves up in Colchester on the twelfth of June. The lord Fairfax, informed of their motions, passed over with his forces at Gravesend, with so much expedition, that he arrived before Colchester June the thirteenth. Immediately he summoned the royalists to surrender; which they refusing, he attacks them the same afternoon with the utmost fury. But being repulsed, he resolved, June the fourteenth, to block up the place, in order to starve the royalists shut up therein into a compliance. These endured a severe and tedious siege of eleven weeks, not surrendering till August the twenty eighth; and feeding for about five weeks chiefly upon horse-flesh; all their endeavours for obtaining peace, on honourable terms, being ineffectual. This affair is the most exceptionable part in the lord Fairfax's conduct. For, he granted worse terms to that poor town, than to any other in the whole course of the war; he endeavoured to destroy it as much as possible; he laid an exorbitant fine, or ransom, of twelve thousand pounds, upon the inhabitants, to excuse them from being plundered; and he vented his fury and revenge

upon Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Lisle, who had behaved in the best and most inoffensive manner during the siege, sparing that buffoon, the earl of Norwich, whose behaviour had been quite different ; so that his name and memory there ought to be for ever detestable.

After his mighty exploits against a poor and unfortified town, he took a kind of triumphant progress to Ipswich, Yarmouth, Norwich, St. Edmundsbury, Harwich, Mersey, and Maldon. About the beginning of December, he came again to London, to awe that city and the parliament, and to forward the proceedings against the king ; quartering himself in the royal palace of Whitehall : and, by special order from him and the council of the army, it was, that several members of the house of commons were secluded and imprisoned on the sixth and seventh of that month ; he being, as one expresses it, lulled in a kind of stupidity. He was foremost in the list of the king's judges, but refused to act, probably by his lady's persuasion.

On the fourteenth of February, 1648-9, he was voted to be one of the new council of state ; but, on the nineteenth, he refused to subscribe the Test, appointed by parliament, for approving all that was done concerning the king and kingship. On the thirty-first of March, he was voted general of all the forces in England and Ireland, more to his honour than intrinsic power.

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In May, he marched against the Levellers, who were grown very numerous, and began to be troublesome and formidable in Oxfordshire, and utterly routed them at Burford. Thence, on the twenty-second of the same month, he repaired to Oxford with Oliver Cromwell, and other officers, where he was highly feasted, and created doctor of laws.

Next, upon the apprehension of the like risings in other places, he went and viewed the castles and fortifications in the Isle of Wight, and at Southampton, and Portsmouth; and near Guilford had a rendezvous of the army, which he exhorted to obedience. On the fourth of June, he was feasted, with other officers, &c. by the city of London, and presented with a large and weighty basin and ewer of beaten gold.

In June, 1650, upon the Scots declaring for king Charles II. the juncto of the council of state having taken a resolution to be beforehand, and not to stay to be invaded from Scotland, but to carry first the war into that kingdom; general Fairfax, being consulted, seemed to approve of the design: but afterwards, by the persuasion of his lady, and of the presbyterian ministers, he declared himself unsatisfied; that there was a just ground for the parliament of England to send their army to invade Scotland; and resolved to lay down his commission rather than engage in that affair. Whereupon, on the twenty-sixth, the ordinance whereby he was appointed commander

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in chief of all the forces of the parliament, being repealed, that high trust was immediately committed to Oliver Cromwell ; who^s was glad to see him removed, as being no longer necessary, but rather an obstacle to his farther ambitious designs.

For a kind of compensation, the parliament settled an annual revenue of five thousand pounds upon his lordship.

Being thus released from all public employment, he went and lived quietly at his own house in Nun-Appleton, in Yorkshire ; always earnestly wishing and praying, as we are assured, for the restitution of the royal family ; and fully resolved to lay hold of the first good opportunity to contribute his part towards it ; which made him always looked upon with a jealous eye by the usurers of that time. As soon as he was invited by general Monk to assist him against Lambert's army, he cheerfully embraced the occasion, and appeared, on the third of December, 1659, at the head of a body of gentlemen of Yorkshire ; and, upon the reputation and authority of his name, the Irish brigade, of one thousand two hundred horse, forsook Lambert's army, and joined him.

The consequence was, the immediate breaking of all Lambert's forces ; which gave general Monk an easy march into England. On the first of January, 1659-60, his lordship made himself master of York ; and, on the second of the same month, was chosen by the
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rump parliament one of the council of state, as he was again on the twenty-third of February ensuing. On the twenty-ninth of March he was elected one of the knights for the county of York, in the healing parliament; and was at the head of the committee appointed, on the third of May, by the house of commons, to go and attend king Charles II. at the Hague; to desire him to make a speedy return to his parliament, and to the exercise of his kingly office.

On the sixteenth of May he waited upon his majesty with the rest, and attoned, in some measure, for all past offences, by readily concurring and assisting in his restoration. After the dissolution of the short healing parliament, he returned again to his seat in the country; where he lived in a private manner till his death, which happened on the twelfth of November, 1671, in the sixtieth year of his age.

Several letters, remonstrances, and other papers, subscribed with his name, are preserved in Rushworth, and other collections, being published during the time he was general; but he disowns most of them. After his decease, Some Short Memorials, written by Himself, were published; which do him no great honour.

The lord Fairfax, as to his person, was tall, but not above the just proportion; and of a gloomy and melancholy disposition. He

flammered a little, and was a bad orator in the most plausible occasion.

As to the qualities of his mind, he was religious in the way he professed, which was presbyterianism ; of a good natural disposition ; a great lover of learning, having contributed to the edition of the Polyglott, and other large works ; and a particular admirer of the history and antiquities of Great Britain ; witness the encouragement he gave to Mr. Dodsworth. He was of a meek and humble carriage, and but of few words in discourse and council ; yet, when his judgment and reason were satisfied, he was unalterable ; and often ordered things expressly contrary to the judgment of all his council.

His valour was unquestionable. He was daring, and no self-seeker ; and, in action in the field, he appeared so highly transported, that scarce any one durst speak a word to him, and he would seem like a man distracted and furious :

His being outwitted by Cromwell, in suffering himself to become the tool and property of that wicked and ambitious man, was his greatest blemish. Happy would it have been for the nation, happy for himself, if he had retired sooner.



(Milton)

J. Thompson sculp

THE LIFE OF

JOHN MILTON.

JOHN MILTON was descended of an antient family of that name, at Milton, near Abingdon, in Oxfordshire. He was the son of John Milton, a money-scrivener, and born on the ninth of December, 1608. The family from which he descended had been long seated there, as appears by the monuments still to be seen in the church of Milton, till one of them, having taken the unfortunate side in the contests between the houses of York and Lancaster, was deprived of his estate, except what he held by all his wife. Our author's grandfather, whose name was John Milton, was under-ranger, or keeper of the forest of Shooter, near Milton, in Oxfordshire: but a sign of Milton's genius needs not have the circumstances of birth called in to render him illustrious. He reflects the highest honour upon his family, which receives from him more glory, than the longest descent of years can give.

Milton was first educated under a domestic tutor, and likewise at St. Paul's school, under Mr. Alexander Gill, where he made, by his indefatigable application, an extraordinary

dinary progress in learning. From his twelfth year he generally sat up all night at his studies, which, accompanied with frequent headaches, proved very prejudicial to his eyes. In the year 1625 he was entered into Christ's College in Cambridge, under the tuition of Mr. William Chappel, afterwards bishop of Ross in Ireland, and even before that time, had distinguished himself by several Latin and English poems.

After he had taken the degree of master of arts, in 1632, he left the university, and for the space of five years lived with his parents at their house at Horton, near Colbrook in Buckinghamshire, where his father having acquired a competent fortune, thought proper to retire, and spend the remainder of his days.

In the year 1634 he wrote his masque of *Comus*, performed at Ludlow-castle, before John earl of Bridgewater, then president of Wales: it appears from the edition of this masque, published by Mr. Henry Lawes, that the principal performers were, the lord Barclay, Mr. Thomas Egerton, the lady Alice Egerton and Mr. Lawes himself, who represented an attendant spirit. In 1637 our author published his *Lycidas*; in this poem he laments the death of his friend Mr. Edward King, who was drowned in his passage from Chester, on the Irish seas, in 1637; it was printed the year following at Cambridge, in quarto, in a collection of Latin and English poems upon Mr. King's death,

death, with whom he had contracted the strongest friendship. The Latin epitaph informs us, that Mr. King, was son of Sir John King, secretary for Ireland to queen Elizabeth, James I. and Charles I. and that he was fellow in Christ's-College, Cambridge, and was drowned in the twenty-fifth year of his age.

Upon the death of his mother, Milton obtained leave of his father to travel, and having waited upon Sir Henry Wotton, formerly ambassador at Venice, and then provost of Eaton-college, to whom he communicated his design; that gentleman wrote a letter to him, dated from the college, April 18, 1638, and printed among the *Reliquiæ Wottonianæ*, and in Dr. Newton's life of Milton. Immediately after the receipt of this letter our author set out for France, accompanied only with one man who attended him through all his travels.

At Paris Milton was introduced to the famous Hugo Grotius, and thence went to Florence, Siena, Rome, and Naples, in all which places he was entertained with the utmost civility, by persons of the first distinction.

When our author was at Naples he was introduced to the acquaintance of Giovanni Baptista Manso, Marquis of Villa, a Neapolitan nobleman, celebrated for his taste in the liberal arts, to whom Tasso addresses his *Dialouge on Friendship*, and whom he likewise mentions

mentions in his *Gierusalemme liberata*, with great honour. This nobleman shewed extraordinary civilities to Milton, frequently visited him at his lodgings, and accompanied him when he went to see the several curiosities of the city. He was not content with giving our author these exterior marks of respect only, but he honoured him with a Latin distich in his praise, which is printed before Milton's Latin poems. Milton, no doubt, was highly pleased with such extreme condescension and esteem from a person of the marquis of Villa's quality; and as an evidence of his gratitude, he presented the marquis, at his departure from Naples, his eclogue, entitled *Mansus*; which, says Dr. Newton, is well worth reading among his Latin poems; so that it may be reckoned a peculiar felicity in the marquis of Villa's life to have been celebrated both by Tasso and Milton, the greatest poets of their nation.

Having seen the finest parts of Italy, and conversed with men of the first distinction, he was preparing to pass over into Sicily and Greece, when the news from England, that a civil war was like to lay his country in blood, diverted his purpose; for as by his education and principles he was attached to the parliamentary interest, and thought it a mark of object cowardice, for a lover of his country to take his pleasure abroad, while the friends of liberty were contending at home for the rights of human nature. He resolved therefore to return
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by the way of Rome, though he was dissuaded from pursuing that resolution, by the merchants, who were informed by their correspondents, that the English jesuits there were forming plots against his life, in case he should return thither, on account of the great freedom with which he had treated their religion, and the boldness he discovered in demonstrating the absurdity of the popish tenets. But, steadfast in his resolutions, he went to Rome the second time, and stayed there two months more, neither concealing his name, nor declining any disputations to which his antagonists in religious opinions invited him; he escaped the secret machinations of the jesuits, and came safe to Florence, where he was received by his friends with as much tenderness as if he had returned to his own country. Here he remained two months, as he had done in his former visit, excepting only an excursion of a few days to Lucca, and then crossing the Appenine, and passing through Bologna, and Ferrara, he arrived at Venice, in which city he spent a month; and having shipped off the books he had collected in his travels, he took his course through Verona, Milan, and along the lake Lemano to Geneva. In this city he continued some time, meeting there with people of his own principles, and contracted an intimate friendship with Giovanni Deodati, the most learned professor of divinity, whose Annotations on the Bible are published in English; and from thence re-
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turning to France the same way he had gone before; he arrived safe in England, after an absence of fifteen months, in which Milton had seen much of the world, read the characters of famous men, examined the policy of different countries, and made more extensive improvements than travellers of an inferior genius, and less penetration, can be supposed to do in double the time.

Soon after his return he took an handsome house in Aldersgate-street, and undertook the education of his sister's two sons, upon a plan of his own. In this kind of scholastic solitude he continued some time, but he was not so much immersed in academical studies, as to stand an indifferent spectator of what was acted upon the public theatre of his country.

The nation was in great ferment in 1641, and the clamour against episcopacy running very high, Milton, who discovered how much inferior in eloquence and learning the puritan teachers were to the bishops, engaged warmly with the former in support of the common cause, and exercised all the power of which he was capable, in endeavouring to overthrow the prelatical establishment, and accordingly published five tracts relating to church government; they were all printed at London, in quarto. The first was intitled, Reformation touching Church Discipline in England, and the Causes that have hitherto hindered it: two books written to a friend. The second was of Practical Episcopacy, and whether

whether it may be deduced from apostolical times, by virtue of those testimonies which are alledged to that purpose in some late treatises; one whereof goes under the name of James Usher archbishop of Armagh. The third was the Reason of Church Government urged against the prelacy, by Mr. John Milton, in two books. The fourth was *Animadversions upon the Remonstrant's Defence against Smectymnus*; or, as the title-page is in some copies, an *Apology for Smectymnus*, with the Reason of Church Government, by John Milton.

In the year 1643 Milton married the daughter of Richard Powell, Esq; of Forrest hill in Oxfordshire; who, not long after, obtaining leave of her husband to pay a visit to her father in the country, but, upon repeated messages to her, refusing to return, Milton seemed disposed to marry another, and in 1644 published the doctrine and discipline of divorce; the judgment of Martin Bucer concerning divorce, and the year following his *Tetrachordon* and *Colasterion*.

Mr. Philips observes, and would have his readers believe, that the reason of his wife's aversion to return to him, was the contrariety of their state-principles. The lady being educated in loyal notions, possibly imagined, that if ever the regal power should flourish again, her being connected with a person so obnoxious to the king, would hurt her father's interest; this Mr. Philip's alledges, but, with
submission

submission to his authority, I dissent from his opinion. Had she been afraid of marrying a man of Milton's principles, the reason was equally strong before as after marriage, and her father must have seen it in that light. But from what cause this aversion proceeded, she was at last prevailed upon by her relations, who could foresee the danger of a matrimonial quarrel, to make a submission, and she was again received with tenderness.

About the year 1644 our author wrote a small piece in one sheet quarto, under this title, Education, to Mr. Samuel Hartly; reprinted at the end of his poem, on several occasions; and in the same year he published at London, in quarto, his *Areopagitica*, or a Speech of Mr. John Milton for the liberty of unlicensed printing, to the parliament of England. In 1645 his juvenile poems were printed at London, and about this time his zeal for the republican party had so far recommended him, that a design was formed of making him adjutant-general in Sir William Waller's army; but the new-modelling the army proved an obstruction to that advancement. Soon after the march of Fairfax and Cromwell with the whole army through the city, in order to suppress the insurrection which Brown and Massey were endeavouring to raise there, against the army's proceedings, he left his great house in Barbican, for a smaller in High-Holborn, where he prosecuted his studies till after the king's trial and death, when he published

published his tenure of King's and magistrates. His observations on the articles of peace, between James earl of Ormond for king Charles I. on the one hand, and the Irish rebels and papists on the other hand; and a letter sent by Ormond to colonel Jones governor of Dublin; and a representation of the Scotch presbytry at Belfast in Ireland. He was now admitted in the service of the commonwealth, and was made Latin secretary to the council of state, who resolved neither to write nor receive letters but in the Latin tongue, which was common to all states. Thus we have seen Milton raised to the dignity of Latin Secretary. It is somewhat strange, that in times of general confusion, when a man of parts has the fairest opportunity to play off his abilities to advantage, that Milton did not rise sooner, nor to a greater elevation; he was employed by those in authority only as a writer, which conferred no power upon him, and kept him in a kind of obscurity, who had from nature all that was proper for the field as well as the cabinet; for we are assured that Milton was a man of confirmed courage. In 1651 our author published his *Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio*, for which he was rewarded by the commonwealth, with a present of a thousand pounds, and had a considerable hand in correcting and polishing a piece written by his nephew, Mr. John Philips, and printed at London 1652, under this title, *Joannis Philippei Angli Responsus ad Apologiam*
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am Anonymi cujusdam Tenebrionis pro Kege & Populo Anglicano infantifiman. During the writing and publishing of this work, he lodged at one Thompson's, next door to the Bull-head tavern at Charing-cross; but he soon removed to a Garden-house in Petty-France, next door to lord Scudamore's, where he remained from the year 1652 till within a few weeks of the restoration. In this house, his first wife dying in child-bed in 1652, he married a second, Catherine, the daughter of captain Woodcock of Hackney, who died of a consumption in three months after she had been brought to bed of a daughter. This second marriage was about two or three years after he had been wholly deprived of his sight; for by reason of his continual studies, and the head-ach, to which he was subject from his youth, and his perpetual tampering with physic, his eyes had been decayed for twelve years before. In 1654 he published his *Defensio Secunda*, and the year following his *Defensio pro Se*.

Being now at ease from his state adversaries, and political controversies, he had leisure again to prosecute his own studies, and private designs, particularly his history of Britain, and his new *Thesaurus Linguae Latinæ*, according to the method of Robert Stevens, the manuscript of which contained three large volumes folio, and has been made use of by the editors of the Cambridge Dictionary, printed in quarto, 1693. In 1658
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he published Sir Walter Raleigh's Cabinet Council; and in 1659 a treatise of the civil power in ecclesiastical courts, and Considerations touching the likeliest means to remove hirelings out of the Church; wherein are also discourses of tythes, church-fees, church-revenues, and whether any maintenance of ministers can be settled in law, Lond. 1659, in twelves.

Upon the dissolution of the parliament by the army, after Richard Cromwell had been obliged to resign the protectorship, Milton wrote a letter, in which he laid down the model of a commonwealth; not such as he judged the best, but what might be the readiest settled at that time, to prevent the restoration of kingly government and domestic disorders till a more favourable season, and better dispositions for erecting a perfect democracy. He drew up likewise another piece to the same purpose, which seems to have been addressed to general Monk; and he published in February 1659, his ready and easy way to establish a free commonwealth. Soon after this he published his Brief Notes upon a late Sermon, entitled, The Fear of God and the King, printed in quarto, Lond. 1660.

Just before the restoration he was removed from his office of Latin secretary, and concealed himself till the act of oblivion was published; by the advice of his friends he absconded till the event of public affairs should direct him what course to take, for this purpose

pose he retired to a friend's house in Bartholomew-close, near West-Smithfield, till the general amnesty was declared.

The act of oblivion, says Mr. Philips, proving as favourable to him, as could be hoped or expected, through the intercession of some who stood his friends both in council and parliament, particularly in the house of commons, Mr. Andrew Marvell, member for Hull, and who has prefixed a copy of verses before his *Paradise Lost*, and vigorously in his behalf, and made a considerable party for him, so that together with John Goodwin of Coleman-street, he was only so far excepted as not to bear any office in the commonwealth. Mr. Richardson, in his *life of Milton*, Remarks, by means of Sir William Davenant who obtained his remission, in return of his own life, procured by Milton's interest when himself was under condemnation, Anno 1650. A life was owing to Milton (Davenant's) and it was paid nobly; Milton's for Davenant's, at Davenant's intercession. The management of the affair in the house, whether by signifying the king's desire, or otherwise, was, perhaps, by those gentlemen named.

Milton, being secured by his pardon, appeared again in public, and removed to Jew-in-street, where he married his third wife, Elizabeth, the daughter of Mr. Minshul of Cheshire, recommended to him by his friend Dr. Paget, to whom he was related, but he had no children by her: soon after the restoration
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he was offered the place of Latin secretary, to the king, which, notwithstanding the importunities of his wife, he refused: we are informed, that when his wife pressed him to comply with the times, and accept the king's offer, he made answer, "You are in the right, my dear; you, as other women, would ride in your coach; for me, my aim is to live and die an honest man." Soon after his marriage with his third wife, he removed to a house in the Artillery-walk, leading to Bunhill-fields, where he continued till his death, except during the plague, in 1665, when he retired with his family to St. Giles Chalfont Buckinghamshire, at which time his *Paradise Lost* was finished, though not published till 1667.

Mr. Richardson has informed us, "That when Milton dictated, he used to sit leaning backwards obliquely in an easy chair, with his legs flung over the elbows of it; that he frequently composed lying a-bed in a morning, and that when he could not sleep, but lay awake whole nights, he tried, but not one verse could he make; at other times flowed easy his unpremeditated verse, with a certain Impetus, as himself used to believe; then, at what hour soever, he rung for his daughter to secure what came. I have been also told, he would dictate many, perhaps forty lines in a breath, and then reduce them to half the number."

I would not omit, says Mr. Richardson, the least circumstance, these indeed are trifles, but even such contract a sort of greatness, when related to what is great. After the work was ready for the press, it was near being suppressed by the ignorance, or malice of the licenser, who, among other trivial objections, imagined there was treason in that noble simile, b. i. v. 594.

———— As when the sun new-risen
Looks through the horizontal misty air,
Shorn of his beams ; or from behind the moon,
In dim eclipse, disastrous twilight sheds
On half the nations, and with fear of change
Perplexes monarchs.

The ignorance of this licenser, in objecting to this noble simile, has indeed perpetuated his name, but it is with no advantage ; he, no doubt, imagined, that “ Perplexes monarchs,” was levelled against the reigning prince, which is, perhaps, the highest simile in our language ; how ridiculously will people talk who are blinded by prejudice, or heated by party. But, to return :

After Milton had finished this noble work of genius, which does honour to human nature, he disposed of it to a bookseller, for the small price of fifteen pounds ; under such prejudice did he then labour, and the payment of the fifteen pounds was to depend upon the sale

sale of two numerous impressions. This engagement with his bookseller proves him extremely ignorant of that sort of business, for he might be well assured, that if two impressions sold, a great deal of money must be returned, and how he could dispose of it thus conditionally for fifteen pounds, appears strange; but while it proves Milton's ignorance, or inattention about his interest in this affair, it, at the same time, demonstrates the bookseller's honesty; for he could not be ignorant what money would be got by two numerous editions.

After this great work was published, however, it lay some time in obscurity, and had the bookseller advanced the sum stipulated, he would have had reason to repent of his bargain.

It was generally reported, that the late lord Somers first gave *Paradise Lost* a reputation; but Mr. Richardson observes, that it was known and esteemed long before there was such a man as lord Somers, as appears by a pompous edition of it, printed by subscription in 1688, where, amongst the list of subscribers, are the names of lord Dorset, Waller, Dryden, Sir Robert Howard, Duke, Creech, Flatman, Dr. Aldrick, Mr. Atterbury, Sir Roger L'Estrange, lord Somers, then only John Somers, Esq; Mr. Richardson further informs us, that he was told by Sir George Hungerford, an ancient member of parliament, that Sir John Denham came into the

house one morning with a sheet of *Paradise Lost*, wet from the press, in his hand, and being asked what he was reading? he answered, part of the noblest poem that ever was written in any language, or in any age; however, it is certain that the book was not known till about two years after, when the earl of Dorset recommended it, as appears by the following story, related to Mr. Richardson, by Dr. Tancred Robinson, an eminent physician in London, who was informed by Sir Fleetwood Shepherd, "That the earl, in company with that gentleman, looking over some books in Little Britain, met with *Paradise Lost*; and being surprised with some passages in turning it over, bought it. The bookseller desired his lordship to speak in its favour, since he liked it, as the impression lay on his hands as waste paper. The earl having read the poem, sent it to Mr. Dryden, who, in a short time, returned it, with this answer: "This man cuts us all, and the ancients too."

Criticks have differed as to the source from which our author drew the first hint of writing *Paradise Lost*; Peck conjectures that it was from a celebrated Spanish romance called *Guzman*, and Dr. Zachary Pearce, now bishop of Bangor, has alledged, that he took the first hint of it from an Italian tragedy, called, *Il Paradiso Perso*, still extant, and printed many years before he entered on his design.

Mr. Lauder, in his *Essay on Milton's Life and Imitation of the Moderns*, has insinuated, that

that Milton's first hint of *Paradise Lost*, was taken from a tragedy of the celebrated Grotius, called *Adamus Exul*, and that Milton has not thought it beneath him to transplant some of that author's beauties into his noble work, as well as some other flowers culled from the gardens of inferior geniuses; but by an elegance of art, and force of nature, peculiar to him, he has drawn the admiration of the world upon passages, which, in their original authors, stood neglected and undistinguished. If at any time he has adopted a sentiment of a cotemporary poet, it deserves another name than plagiarism; for, as Grotius expresses it in the case of Dryden, who was charged with plagiarism, that, like ladies of quality who borrow beggars children, it is only to cloth them the better, and we know no higher compliment could have been paid to these moderns, than that of Milton's doing them the honour to peruse them, for, like a prince's accepting a present from a subject, the glory is reflected on him who offers the gift, not on the monarch who accepts it.

In the year 1670, our author published at London, in quarto, his *History of Britain*, that part especially, now called *England*, from the first traditional beginning, continued to the Norman conquest, collected out of the ancientest and best authors thereof. It is reprinted in the first Volume of Dr. Thener's compleat *History of England*. Mr. Toland, in his *Life of Milton*, page 43, observes, that

we have not this history as it came out of his hands, for the licensers, these sworn officers to destroy learning, liberty, and good sense, expunged several passages of it, wherein he had exposed the superstition, pride, and cunning of the popish monks in the Saxon times, but applied by the sagacious licensers to Charles II.'s bishops. In 1681, a considerable passage, which had been suppressed in the publication of this history, was printed at London in quarto, under this title: Mr. John Milton's Character of the Long Parliament and Assembly of Divines in 1651, omitted in his other Works, and never before printed. It is reported, and from the foregoing character it appears probable, that Mr. Milton had lent most of his personal estate upon the public faith, which when he somewhat earnestly pressed to have restored, after long and chargeable attendance, met with very sharp rebukes; upon which, at last, despairing of any success in this affair, he was forced to return from them poor and friendless, having spent all his money, and wearied all those who had espoused his cause, and he had not, probably, mended his circumstances in those days, but by performing such service for them, as afterwards he did, for which scarce any thing would appear too great.

In 1671 he published at London, in octavo, *Paradise Regained*, a poem in four books, to which is added, *Sampson Agonistes*: there is not a stronger proof of human weakness,
than

than Milton's preferring this poem of *Paradise Regained*, to *Paradise Lost*, and it is a natural and just observation, that the Messiah in *Paradise Regained*, with all his meekness, unaffected dignity, and clear reasoning, makes not so great a figure, as when in the *Paradise Lost* he appears cloathed in the terrors of Almighty vengeance, wielding the thunder of heaven, and riding along the sky in the chariot of power, drawn, as Milton greatly expresses it, "With four Cherubic shapes; when he comes drest in awful majesty, and hurls the apostate spirits headlong into the fiery gulf of bottomless perdition, there to dwell in adamant chains and penal fire, who durst defy the Omnipotent to arms." Dr. Newton dissented from the general opinion, concerning *Paradise Regained*: "Certainly," says he, "it is very worthy of the author, and contrary to what Mr. Toland relates. Milton may be seen, in *Paradise Regained*, as well as in *Paradise Lost*: if it is inferior in poetry, I know not whether it is inferior in sentiment; if it is less descriptive, it is more argumentative; it it does not sometimes rise so high, neither does it ever sink below; and it has not met with the approbation it deserves, only because it has not been more read and considered. His subject indeed is confined, and he has a narrow foundation to build upon, but he has raised as noble a superstructure as such little room, and such scanty materials would allow. The great beauty of it is the contrast between the two characters of the

tempter and our Saviour; the artful sophistry, and specious insinuations of the one, refuted by the strong sense, and manly eloquence of the other."

The first thought of *Paradise Regained* was owing to Elwood the quaker, as he himself relates the occasion, in the History of his own Life. When Milton had lent him the manuscript of *Paradise Lost* at St. Giles Chalfont, and he returned it, Milton asked him how he liked it, and what he thought of it; "which I modestly and freely told him (says Elwood) and after some farther discourse about it, I pleasantly said to him, Thou hast said much of *Paradise Lost*, but what hast thou to say of a *Paradise Regained*? He made no answer, but sat some time in a mute, then broke off that discourse, and fell upon another subject." When Elwood afterwards waited upon him in London, Milton shewed him his *Paradise Regained*, and in a pleasant tone said to him, "this is owing to you, for you put it into my head, by the question you put to me at Chalfont, which before I had not thought of."

In the year 1672, he published his *Artis Logicæ plenior Institutio ad Rami methodum. concinnata*, London in octavo; and in 1673, a discourse intitled, *Of true Religion, Heresy, Schism, Toleration, and what best means may be used against the growth of Popery*, London in quarto. He published likewise, the same year, *Poems*, &c. on several Occasions. both
English

English and Latin, composed at several times; with a small *Traſtate* of Education to Mr. Hartlib, London in octavo. In 1674 he published his *Epistolarum familiarium*, lib. i. & *Reſolutiones quædam Oratoriz in Collegio Chriſti habitæ*, London, in octavo, and in the ſame year in quarto, *A Declaration of the Letters Patent of the King of Poland, John III.* elected on the twenty-second of May, anno dom. 1674, now faithfully translated from the Latin Copy.

Mr. Wood tells us, that Milton was thought to be the author of a piece called *The Grand Caſe of Conſcience*; concerning the Engagement ſtated and reſolved; or a ſtrict Survey of the Solemn League and Covenant, in reference to the preſent engagement; but others are of opinion that the ſtile and manner of writing do not in the leaſt favour that ſuppoſition. His State letters were printed at London in 1676, in twelves, and translated into Engliſh, and printed in 1694, as his *Brief Hiſtory of Muſcovy*, and of other leſs-known countries, lying eaſtward of Ruſſia, as far as Cathay, printed in 1682, in octavo. His *Hiſtorical, Poetical, and Miſcellaneous works* were printed in three volumes folio, in 1698, at London, though Amſterdam is mentioned in the title-page with the life of the author, by Mr. Toland; but the moſt compleat and elegant edition of his proſe works was printed in two volumes in folio, at London, in 1738, by the reverend Mr. Birch, now ſecre-

tary to the royal society, with an appendix concerning two dissertations, the first concerning the author of the ΕΙΚΩΝΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ, the portraiture of his sacred majesty in his solitude and sufferings ; and the prayer of Pamela subjoined to several editions of that book ; the second concerning the commission said to be given by king Charles I. in 1641, to the Irish papists, for taking up arms against the protestants in Ireland. In this edition the several pieces are disposed according to the order in which they were printed, with the addition of a Latin tract, omitted by Mr. Toland, concerning the reasons of the war with Spain in 1655, and several pages in the history of Great Britain, expunged by the licensers of the press, and not to be met with in any former impressions. It perhaps is not my province to make any remarks upon the two grand disputations, that have subsisted between the friends and enemies of Charles I. about the author of the Basiliæ, and the commission granted to the Irish papists ; as to the last, the reader, if he pleases, may consult the Life of Lord Brohill, in which he will find the mystery of iniquity disclosed, and Charles entirely freed from the least appearance of being concerned in granting so execrable a commission ; the forgery is there fully related, and there is all the evidence the nature of the thing will admit of, that the king's memory has been injured by so base an imputation. As to the first, it is somewhat difficult to determine,

mine, whether his majesty was or was not the author of those pious meditations ; Mr. Birch has summed up the evidence on both sides ; we shall not take upon us to determine, on which it preponderates ; it will be proper here to observe, the chief evidence against the king in this contention, is Dr. Gauden, bishop of Exeter, who claimed that book as his, and who, in his letters to the earl of Clarendon, values himself upon it, and becomes troublesomely solicitous for preferment on that account ; he likewise told the two princes that the Basilike was not written by their father, but by him ; now one thing is clear, that Gauden was altogether without parts ; his Life of Hooker, which is the only genuine and undisputed work of his, shews him a man of no extent of thinking, his style is loose, and negligently florid, which is diametrically opposite to that of these meditations.

Another circumstance much invalidates his evidence, and diminishes his reputation for honesty. After he had, for a considerable time, professed himself a Protestant, and been in possession of an English bishopric, and discovered an ardent desire of rising in the church, notwithstanding this, he declared himself, at his death, a Papist ; and, upon the evidence of such a man, none can determine a point in disputation ; for he who durst thus violate his conscience, by the basest hypocrisy, will

surely make no great scruple to traduce the memory of his sovereign.

In a work of Milton's called *Icon Oclastes*, or, *The Image Broken*, he takes occasion to charge the king with borrowing a prayer from Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia*, and placing it in his *Meditations* without acknowledging the favour.

Soon after the sentence of the Regicides had been put in execution, these *Meditations* were published; and, as Anthony, by shewing the body of murdered Cæsar, excited the compassion of multitudes, and raised their indignation against the enemies of that illustrious Roman, so these *Meditations* had much the same effect in England.

The Presbyterians loudly exclaimed against the murder of the king: they asserted, that his person was sacred, and spilling his blood upon a scaffold was a stain upon the English annals, which the latest time could not obliterate.

These tragical complaints gaining ground, and the fury which was lately exercised against his majesty, subsiding into a tenderness for his memory, heightened by the consideration of his piety, which these meditations served to revive, it was thought proper, in order to appease the minds of the people, that an answer should be wrote to them. In this task Milton engaged, and prosecuted it with vigour; but the most enthusiastic admirer of that poet,
upon

upon reading it, will not fail to discover a spirit of bitterness, an air of peevishness and resentment, to run through the whole.

Milton has been charged with interpolating the prayer of Pamela into the king's Meditations, by the assistance of Bradshaw, who laid his commands upon the printer so to do, to blast the reputation of the king's book.

Dr. Newton is of opinion that this fact is not well supported; for it is related chiefly on the authority of Henry Hills, the printer, who had frequently affirmed it to Dr. Gill and Dr. Bernard, his physicians, as they themselves have testified; but, though Hills was Cromwell's printer, yet afterwards he turned papist, in the reign of king James II. in order to be that king's printer; and it was at that time he used to relate this story; so that little credit is due to his testimony. It is almost impossible to believe Milton capable of such disingenuous meanness, to serve so bad a purpose; and there is as little reason for fixing it upon him, as he had to traduce the king for profaning the duty of prayer with the polluted trash of romances; for, in the best books of devotion, there are not many finer prayers; and the king might as lawfully borrow and apply it to his own purpose, as the apostle might make quotations from heathen poems and plays; and it became Milton, the least of all men, to bring such an accusation against the king, as he was particularly fond of reading romances,
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and has made use of them in some of the best and latest of his writings.

There have been various conjectures concerning the cause that produced in Milton so great an aversion to Charles I. One is, that, when Milton stood candidate for a professorship at Cambridge, with his much esteemed friend Mr. King, their interest and qualifications were equal; upon which his majesty was required by his nomination to fix the professor. His answer was, "Let the best natured man have it." To which they who heard him, immediately replied, "Then we are certain it cannot be Milton's, who was ever remarkable for a stern ungovernable man."

Whether this conjecture is absolutely true, we cannot determine; but, as it is not without probability, it has a right to be believed till a more satisfactory one can be given.

Milton's character, as a poet, was never better portrayed than in an epigram under his picture written by Mr. Dryden:

Three poets, in three distant ages born,
Greece, Italy, and England, did adorn.
The first, in loftiness of thought surpass'd;
The next, in majesty; in both the last:
The force of Nature could no further go,
To make a third, she join'd the former two.

This great man died at his house at Bunhill on the fifteenth of November, 1674, and was

was interred, near the body of his father, in the chancel of the church of St. Giles, Cripplegate.

By his first wife he had four children, a son and three daughters. The daughter survived the father. Anne married a master-builder, and died in child-bed of her first child, which died with her; Mary lived single; Deborah left her father when she was young, and went over to Ireland with a lady, and came to England again during the troubles of Ireland under king James II. She married Mr. Abraham Clark, a weaver in Spittlefields; and died on the twenty-fourth of August, 1727, in the seventy-sixth year of her age. She had ten children; viz. seven sons and three daughters; but none of them had any children, except one of her sons, named Caleb; and the youngest daughter, whose name is Elizabeth. Caleb went over to Fort St. George, in the East-Indies, where he married and had two sons, Abraham and Isaac. Of those, Abraham, the elder, came to England with governor Harrison, but returned again upon advice of his father's death; and, whether he or his brother be now living is uncertain. Elizabeth, the youngest child of Deborah, married Mr. Thomas Foster, a weaver, and lives now in Hog-lane, Shoreditch, for whom Comus was performed at Drury-Lane, and produced her a great benefit. She has had seven children, three sons and four daughters, who

who are all now dead. This Mrs. Foster is a plain decent looking woman.

Mr. John Ward, fellow of the royal-society, and professor of rhetoric in Gresham-college, London, saw the above Mrs. Clark, Milton's daughter, at the house of one of her relations, not long before her death; "when she informed me," says that gentleman, "that she and her sisters used to read to their father in eight languages; which, by practice, they were capable of doing with great readiness and accuracy, though they understood no language but English; and their father used often to say in their hearing, one tongue was enough for a woman.

"None of them were ever sent to school, but all taught at home by a mistress, kept for that purpose. Isaiah, Homer, and Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, were books which they were often called to read to their father; and, at my desire, she repeated a great number of verses from the beginning of both these poets with great readiness. I knew who she was upon the first sight of her, by the similitude of her countenance with her father's picture; and upon my telling her so, she informed me, that Mr. Addison told her the same thing, on her going to wait on him; for he, on hearing she was living, sent for her, and desired, if she had any papers of her father's, she would bring them with her, as an evidence of her being Milton's daughter; but immediately on
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her being introduced to him, he said, 'Madam, you need no other voucher; your face is a sufficient testimonial whose daughter you are :' and he then made her a handsome present of a purse of guineas, with a promise of procuring her an annual provision for life; but he dying soon after, she lost the benefit of his generous design. She appeared to be a woman of good sense and genteel behaviour, and to bear the inconveniences of a low fortune with decency and prudence."

Her late majesty, queen Caroline, sent her fifty pounds, and she received presents of money from several gentlemen not long before her death.

Milton had a brother, Mr. Christopher Milton, who was knighted, and made one of the barons of the Exchequer, in the reign of king James II. but he does not appear to have been a man of any abilities; at least, if he had any, they are lost to posterity in the lustre of his brother's.

There is now alive a grand-daughter of this Christopher Milton, who is married to one Mr. George Lookup, advocate at Edinburgh, remarkable for his knowledge of the Hebrew tongue. The lady, says Theo. Cibber, whom I have often seen, is extremely corpulent, has in her youth been very handsome, and is not destitute of poetical genius. She has written several copies of verses, published in the Edinburgh Magazines; and her face bears some resemblance to the picture of Milton.

Mr.

138 BRITISH PLUTARCH.

Mr. Wood, and after him Mr. Fenton, has given us the following description of Milton's person.

"He was of a moderate size, well proportioned, and of a ruddy complexion, light brown hair, and had handiome features ; yet his eyes were none of the quickest: When he was a student at Cambridge, he was so fair and clear, that many called him the lady of Christ's college. His deportment was affable, and his gait erect and manly, bespeaking courage and undauntedness. While he had his sight, he wore a sword, and was well skilled in using it. He had a delicate tunable voice, an excellent ear, could play on the organ, and bear a part in vocal and instrumental music."

The great learning and genius of Milton, have scarce raised him more admirers, than the part he acted upon the political stage hath procured him enemies. He was in his inclination a thorough republican ; and in this he thought like a Greek or a Roman, as he was very conversant with their writings : and one day, Sir Robert Howard, who was a friend of Milton's, and a well wisher to the liberty of his country, asked him, How he came to side with the Republicans ? Milton answered, among other things, " Because theirs was the most frugal government ; for the trappings of a monarchy might set up an ordinary commonwealth." But then his attachment to Cromwell must be condemned, as being nei-
ther

ther consistent with his republican principles, nor with his love of liberty. It may be reasonably presumed, that he was far from approving of Cromwell's proceeding; but considered him as the only person who could rescue the nation from the tyranny of the Presbyterians, who, he saw, was about to erect a worse dominion of their own upon the ruins of prelatial episcopacy; for, if experience may be allowed to teach us, the presbyterian government carries in it more of ecclesiastical authority, and approaches more to the thunder of the Vatican, than any other government under the sun.

Milton was an enemy to spiritual slavery, he thought the chains thrown upon the mind were the least tolerable; and, in order to shake the pillars of mental usurpation, he closed with Cromwell and the Independants, as he expected under them a greater liberty of conscience. In matters of religion too, Milton has likewise given great offence, but infidels have no reason to glory. No such man was ever amongst them. He was persuaded of the truth of the Christian religion; he studied and admired the holy scriptures, and, in all his writings, he plainly discovers a religious turn of mind.

When he wrote the Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce, he appears to have been a Calvinist; but afterwards he entertained a more favourable opinion of Arminius. Some have thought that he was an Arian, but there are
more

more express passages in his works to overthrow this opinion, than any there are to confirm it; for, in the conclusion of his treatise on Reformation, he thus solemnly invokes the Trinity:

“Thou therefore that sitst in light and glory unapproachable, parent of angel and of men! next Thee I implore, omnipotent king, redeemer of that lost remnant, whose nature Thou didst assume, ineffable and everlasting love! and Thee the third substance of the Divine Infinitude, illuminating spirit, the joy and solace of created things! one Tri-personal God head.”

In the latter part of his life he was not a professed member of any particular sect of Christians; he frequented no public nor used any religious rites in his family. He was an enemy to all kinds of form, and thought that all Christians had, in some things, corrupted the simplicity and purity of the Gospel. He believed that inward religion was the best, and that public communion had more of show in it, than any tendency to promote genuine piety and unaffected goodness. The circumstances of our author were never very mean nor very affluent; he lived above want, and was content with competency. His father supported him during his travels. When he was appointed Latin secretary, his salary amounted to two hundred pounds per annum; and, though he was of the victorious party, yet he was far from sharing the spoils of his country.

country. On the contrary, as we learn from his Second Defence, he sustained great losses during the civil-war, and was not at all favoured in the imposition of taxes, but sometimes paid beyond his due proportion; and, upon the turn of affairs, he was not only deprived of his place, but also lost two thousand pounds which he had for security put into the Excise-office.

In the fire of London, his house in Bread-street was burned; "before which accident, foreigners have gone, out of devotion," says Wood, "to see the house and chamber where he was born."

Some time before he died, he sold the greatest part of his library, as his heirs were not qualified to make a proper use of it, and as he thought he could dispose of it to greater advantage than they could after his death.

"He died," says Dr. Newton, "by one means or other, worth one thousand five hundred pounds, besides his household goods, which was no incompetent subsistence for him who was as great a philosopher as a poet."

Milton seems not to have been very happy in his marriages. His first wife offended him by her elopement; the second, whose love, sweetness, and delicacy he celebrates, lived not a twelvemonth with him: and his third was said to be a woman of a most violent spirit, and a severe step-mother to his children. "She died," says Dr. Newton, "very old, at Nantwich, in Cheshire; and, from the ac-
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counts of those who had seen her, I have learned that she confirmed several things related before ; and, particularly, that her husband used to compose his poetry chiefly in the winter ; and, on his waking on a morning, would make her write down twenty or thirty verses. Being asked, Whether he did not often read Homer and Virgil, she understood it as an imputation upon him for stealing from these authors ; and answered, with eagerness, that he stole from nobody but the muse that inspired him : and being asked by a lady present who the muse was, she answered, ‘ It was God’s grace and holy spirit that visited him nightly.’ She was likewise asked, whom he approved most of our English poets ; and answered, ‘ Spenser, Shakespear, and Cowley :’ and being asked, what he thought of Dryden ; she said, ‘ Dryden used sometimes to visit him ; but he thought him no poet, but a good rhimest.’

The reader will be pleased to observe, that this censure of Milton’s was before Dryden had made any great appearance in poetry, or composed those immortal works of genius which have raised eternal monuments to him, and carried his name to every country where poetry and taste are known. Some have thought that Dryden’s genius was even superior to Milton’s ; that the latter chiefly shines but in one kind of poetry ; his thoughts are sublime, and his language noble ; but in what kind of writing has not Dryden been distinguished ?

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“ He is in every thing excellent,” says Congreve; “ and he has attempted nothing in which he has not so succeeded as to be entitled to the first reputation from it.”

Is it to be supposed, that Milton was governed by so mean a principle as envy, in his thus censuring Dryden? It is more natural to imagine, that, as he was himself no friend to rhyme; and finding Dryden in his early age peculiarly happy in the faculty of rhiming, without having thrown out any thoughts which were in themselves distinguishedly great, Milton might, without the imputation of ill-nature, characterise Dryden, as we have already seen.



THE LIFE OF

JAMES USHER.

THIS great person, whose life we now recite, was born in the city of Dublin, the metropolis of Ireland, upon the fourteenth day of January, anno domini 1580. His father, Mr. Arnold Usher, one of the six clerks of chancery (and of good repute for his prudence and integrity) was of the ancient family of the Ushers, alias Nevils, whose ancestor (usher to king John) coming over with him, into Ireland, and settling there, changed the name of his family into that of his office (as was usual in that age) his descendants having since branched into several families about Dublin, and for divers ages bore the most considerable offices in and about that city.

His mother was Margaret, daughter of Jam^s Stanihurst, who was of considerable note in her time, being chosen speaker of the honourable house of commons in three parliaments; and was recorder of the city of Dublin, and one of the masters of chancery; and, that which ought always to be mentioned to his honour, he was the first mover, in the last of the three parliaments, of queen Elizabeth, for the founding and endowing of a college
and



Archbishop Usher

and university at Dublin; which was soon after consented to by her majesty; and, being perfected, hath ever since continued a famous nursery for learning and good manners.

His uncle, by the father's side, was Henry Usher, sometime archbishop of Armagh, a wise and learned prelate. His uncle, by the mother's side, was Richard Stanihurst, a learned man, of the Romish persuasion, an excellent historian, philosopher, and poet, as appears by several of his works still extant; though some of them, for that reason, written against his nephew; yet, notwithstanding their difference in judgment, they had frequent correspondences by letters.

He often mentioned two of his aunts, who were blind from their cradle, and so continued to their deaths, and yet were blessed with admirable understandings and inspection in matters of religion; and of such tenacious memories, that whatever they heard read out of the scriptures, or was preached to them, they always retained; and became such proficient, that they were able to repeat much of the Bible by heart, and were the first that taught Usher to read English.

He had but one brother, Ambrose Usher, who, though he died young, yet attained to great skill and perfection in the Oriental tongues; and rendered much of the Old Testament, from the original Hebrew, into English before king James's translation was made. He also translated out of the Latin

into English, that book written by his brother Mr. James Usher, *De Ecclesiarum Christianarum successionc et statu*; which translation is yet only in manuscript: and of this Ambrose, being a very young man, the learned Mr. William Fyre, in a letter to Dr. James Usher, writes thus: "*Interea vero agnosco me valde obæratum esse tibi, et doctissimo juveni, fratri tua Ambrosio, qui peritissima manu sue quædam in meum usum ex Alcorano Arabice excripsit:*" which knowledge in the Arabic tongue, in those days, was very rare, especially in that country. But our James Usher, as God had furnished him with excellent endowments of nature, a tractable disposition, a strong memory, and a ready invention; so, by God's blessing, on his improvement of them, by his learning and industry, he arrived to that admirable perfection that gave him a reputation superior to all that he could derive from his family; and rendered his name famous beyond the narrow bounds of his own country, even throughout the Christian world, wherever true piety and useful learning were held in any esteem and veneration.

After he had learned to read of his aunts, he entered on the Bible (that book of books, as he ever called it) in which he made a happy beginning, and a more happy progress. When he became fit for a grammar-school, it happened that two eminent persons of the Scottish nation (tho' their business and quality were then unknown

unknown) came to Dublin, being sent over thither by king James (then king of Scotland) to keep a correspondence with the English protestant nobility and gentry about Dublin, in order to secure his interest in that kingdom; when queen Elizabeth should come to die; these, for a colour, undertook the employment of schoolmasters to instruct and discipline youth in learning and good education (for the want of such was very great there at that time). The one was James Fullerton; (afterward knighted, and of the bed chamber to king James,) the other was James Hamilton, (afterward also knighted and created by the king viscount Clandebois). To their instruction and tuition was our James Usher committed by his parents, with whom he made so great a proficiency in a short time, that he became the best scholar of the school for Latin, poetry and rhetoric (all this being within the space of five years).

He would usually say, when he recounted the providences of God towards him, 'That he took this for one remarkable instance of it, That he had the opportunity and advantage of his education from those men, who came thither by chance, and yet proved so happily useful to himself and others. In this first scene of his life he was extremely addicted to poetry, and much delighted with it, but afterwards growing to more maturity and consideration, he shook it off, as not suitable to the great end of his more resolved, serious, and profitable

ble studies; and then set himself industriously to pursue learning of a higher nature: yet he always loved a good poem that was well and chastely writ: and lighting once upon a passage in Tully, viz. "Nescire quid antea quam natus sis acciderit, id est, semper esse Puerum;" and also reading Sleidan's history of the four empires, he presently resolved on the study and search of antiquity, and all sorts of learning, and how he might contribute to the advancement thereof: this was a brave and a manly attempt for a lad, but of twelve or thirteen years of age; yet as he attempted, so he conquered all the difficulties which he met with in the search after, and bringing to light those many things, which ignorance had corrupted, and time well-nigh buried in oblivion; especially in a country where there was then so great a scarcity of good books, and learned men.

In the year 1593 was Trinity-college in Dublin finished, and James Usher, then in the thirteenth year of his age, adjudged by his school masters sufficiently qualified for an admittance into that university; and so was entered accordingly: Dr. Loftus (sometime fellow of Trinity-college in Cambridge) afterwards archbishop of Dublin, being first provost of that college, and Mr. Hamilton was one of our Usher's school masters, senior fellow, and tutor to this early-ripe youth; whose name (as the first scholar there) stands to this day in the first line of the not out

without a future presage, that he might prove an honour and ornament to that college and nation, as he afterwards did.

And being thus fixed, he sets himself in good earnest to the study of the languages and liberal arts, not neglecting ecclesiastical history and antiquity, in all which he improved to admiration, for between fifteen and sixteen years of age he had made such proficiency in chronology, that he had drawn up in Latin an exact chronicle of the Bible, as far as the book of kings, not much differing from the method of his late Annals, excepting the enlargements in some more accurate observations and synchronisms of heathen stories.

The earl of Essex being newly come over lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and chancellor of the university of Dublin, there was a solemn act for his entertainment. Our Usher being then bachelor of arts, answered the philosophy act, with great approbation. But while he was busily employing himself in these studies and great designs, to fit himself for the divine calling of the ministry (when he should be qualified for so high and great an employment) his father recommended to him the study of the common law (designing to send him shortly over to the inns of court in England) but to this his son was very averse, it no ways suiting with his natural temper and complexion; yet dutifully would have submitted, if his father could not be brought to alter his mind in that matter: but soon after

he died, and the paternal estate descended to this his eldest son, being of a considerable value: but this young heir was so far from being transported by such an accession of fortune, that it did not in the least shake him from his design; for he finding it somewhat incumbered with law-suits, and sisters portions, and fearing those might prove a hindrance to the course of his studies, he chose rather to commit himself to the providence of God anew, and so very frankly gave his inheritance to his brother, and his several sisters, for their portions; only reserving so much of it as might enable him to buy some books, and afford him a competent maintainance in the college.

About the eighteenth or nineteënth year of his age, he being but batchelör of arts, was thought the fittest person to enter the lists of disputation with a daring and learned Jesuit, one Henry Fitz Symonds, then prisoner in the Castle of Dublin, who sent out a challenge, desiring the greatest champion, and best learned to dispute with him about those points in controversy between the Roman and reformed churches: our Usher accepts the challenge, and accordingly they met; the jesuit made slight of him at first, as but a boy, and thinking it a very easy task to baffle him, the priest admits a public disputation (the subject of which was Bellarmine's controversies) and because the several matters in debate could not be dispatched at one or two meetings, they appointed

appointed to meet once a week to argue the chief points in controversy. But it seems, after one or two conferences, the jesuit had enough of it; for though he despised him at first, yet he did not care to have any more to do with him; for, after the second conference, this boasting Goliath declined the combat with this stripling; and not without cause, for he had felt the quickness of his wit, the strength of his arguments and skill in disputation; so that this jesuit quickly left the field, as appears by a modest letter which Mr. Usher then writ to him, anno domini 1600.

Being now twenty years old, and having lived in the college seven years, from his first admission, he took the degree of master of arts; the same year he was chosen catechist-reader in the college. And being not long after appointed to preach constantly before the state, at Christ-church in Dublin, on Sundays in the afternoon, he made it his business to treat of the chief points of controversy between the Romish church, and ours; in which discourse he was so clear, powerful, and convincing, that he thereby settled many that were wavering, and converted divers from the superstitious persuasion, to the church of England. Neither must it be forgotten, that after the English forces had beaten and driven out the Spaniards in 1603, who then came to the assistance of the Irish at Kinsale, that army resolved to do some worthy act, that might be a lasting memorial of the gallantry

of military men ; and that due respect which they had for true religion and learning. To promote which, they raised among themselves the sum of one thousand eight hundred pounds, to buy books to furnish the library of the university of Dublin. And when the sum was raised, it was resolved by the benefactors, that Dr. Chaloner, and Mr. James Usher, should have the said one thousand eight hundred pounds paid into their hands, to procure such books, as they should judge most necessary for the library, and most useful for advancement of learning, which they accordingly undertook ; and coming into England for that purpose ; where, as also from beyond sea, they procured the best books in all kinds, which were then to be had : so that they most faithfully discharged that great trust, to the donors and the whole college's great satisfaction.

And it is somewhat remarkable, that at this time, when the said persons were at London about laying out this money in books, they then met Sir Thomas Bodley there, buying books for his new erected library at Oxford, so that there began a correspondence between them upon this occasion, helping each other to procure the choicest and best books on several subjects that could be gotten, so that the famous Bodleyan library at Oxford, and that of Dublin began together. About this time the chancellorship of St. Patrick, Dublin, being vacant, he was appointed to fill it up, which was the first ecclesiastical preferment he had,
and

and which he retained without taking any other benefice, until he was thence promoted to the bishopric of Meath. Here he lived single for some years, and kept hospitality proportionable to his income; nor cared he for any overplus at the year's end (for indeed he was never a hoarder of money) but for books and learning he had a kind of laudable covetousness, and never thought a good book (either manuscript or printed) too dear. And in this place Mr. Cambden found him, anno 1607. When he was putting out the last edition of his *Britannia*; where, speaking of Dublin, he concluded thus, "Most of which I acknowledge to owe to the diligence and labour of James Usher, chancellor of the church of St. Patrick, who in various learning and judgment far exceeds his years. And though he had here no particular obligation to preach (unless sometimes in his course before the state) yet he would not omit in the place from whence he received the profits, viz. Finglass, not far from Dublin, which he endowed with a vicarage, and preached there every Lord's day, unless hindered by very extraordinary occasions."

In the year 1607, being the twenty-seventh year of his age, he took the degree of bachelor of divinity, and soon after he was chosen divinity-professor in the university of Dublin: and about this time there being a great dispute about the Herenagh Terman, or Corban lands, which anciently the Chorpiscopi re-

ceived, which as well concerned the bishops of England as Ireland, he wrote a learned treatise of it, so approved, that it was sent to archbishop Bancroft, and by him presented to king James ; the substance of which was afterwards translated, by Sir Henry Spelman, into Latin, and published in the first part of his Glossary, as himself acknowledgeth, giving him there this character, "*Literarum insignis Pharus.*" Which treatise is still in manuscript at the archbishop's library at Lambeth.

This year also he came over into England, to buy books, and to converse with learned men ; and was now first taken notice of at court, preaching before the household, which was a great honour in those days : and, whilst here, he made it his business to enquire into the most hidden and private paths of antiquity ; for which purpose he enquired after, and consulted, the best manuscripts of both universities ; and in all libraries, both public and private ; and came acquainted with the most learned men here ; such as Camden, Sir Robert Cotton, Sir John Boucher, after earl of Bath, Mr. Selden, Mr. Briggs, astronomy professor in the university of Oxford, Mr. Lydiate, Dr. Davenant, after lord-bishop of Salisbury, Dr. Ward of Cambridge, and divers others ; with most of whom he kept a constant friendship and correspondence to their deaths.

After

After this, he constantly came over into England once in three years, spending one month at Oxford, another at Cambridge, the rest of the time at London, spending his time chiefly in the Cottonian Library, the noble and learned master of which affording him a free access, not only to that, but to his own conversation.

This being the thirtieth year of his age, he was unanimously chosen, by the fellows of Dublin college, to the provostship of that house; but he refused it, fearing it might prove a hindrance to his studies. No other reason can be given for his refusal.

In the thirty-second year of his age, he took the degree of doctor of divinity in that university wherein he was bred, and to which he was admitted by Dr. Hampton, then archbishop of Armagh; and vice-chancellor, after he had performed the usual exercises; part of which was to read two solemn lectures on some places of scripture, which he then did, on Dan. ix. 24, of the seventy weeks; and on Rev. xx. 4, explaining those texts so misapplied by the Millenaries both in earlier and latter times.

The next year, being at London, he published his treatise *De Ecclesiarum Christianarum Successione et Statu*; being much magnified by Casaban and Scultetus, in their Greek and Latin verses before it, was solemnly presented by archbishop Abbot to king James, as the eminent first fruits of that college of Dublin. It is imperfect for about three hun-

dred years, from Gregory XI. to Leo X. i. e. from 1371 to 1513, and from thence to this last century; which he intended to have added, had God afforded him a longer life, though he had lost very considerable assistances towards that design, as you will find hereafter.

About this time also he altered his condition, changing a single for a married life, marrying Phœbe, only daughter of Luke Challoner, doctor of divinity, of the antient family of the Challoners, in Yorkshire, who had been a great assister and benefactor to the late erected college at Dublin, having been appointed overseer of the building, and treasurer for the money raised to that purpose.

He was a learned and pious man, and had from a friendship for Dr. Usher, that he courted his alliance, and intended, had he lived, to have given him this his only daughter, with a considerable estate in land and money; but dying before he could see it concluded, he charged her, upon his death-bed, that, if Dr. Usher would marry her, she should think of no other person for a husband; which command of her dying father she punctually obeyed, and was married to him soon after, and was his wife for about forty years, and was always treated by him with great kindness, and conjugal affection, until her death, which preceded his about one year and a half. He had by her one only child, afterwards lady Tyrrel.

There

There was now a parliament at Dublin, and so a convocation of the clergy, when the articles of Ireland were composed and published; and he, being a member of the synod, was appointed to draw them up: which articles being signed by archbishop Jones, then lord-chancellor of Ireland, and speaker of the house of the bishops in convocation, as also by the prolocutor of the house of the clergy in their names; and signed by the then lord-deputy Chichester, by order from king James. But, though Dr. Usher was thus remarkable for piety and learning, yet he could not escape the common fate of extraordinary men; viz. envy and detraction! for there were some in Ireland, though of no great repute for learning or worth, who would needs have him to be a puritan, as then they called those whom they looked upon as disaffected to the discipline of the church, as by law established; and to lay a block in the way of his future preferment, they had got some to traduce him as such to the king, who had no great kindness for those men, as he had little reason. But the doctor hearing of it, and having occasion, about this time, to come for England, as he always had done once in three or four years, the lord-deputy and council were so sensible of this scandal, that, for his vindication, they writ by him a recommendatory letter to his majesty's privy-council; which character, together with king James's own conversation with

with, and tryal of, Dr. Usher, whom he sent for on purpose to that end, so fully satisfied the king, that, after he had discoursed with him on divers points both of learning and religion, he was so extremely well satisfied with him, that he said, He perceived that the knave puritan was a bad, but the knave's puritan an honest, man: and of which latter sort he accounted Dr. Usher to be, since the king had so good an opinion of him, that, of his own accord, he now nominated him to the bishopric of Meath, in Ireland, being then void, with this expression, That Dr. Usher was a bishop of his own making; and so his conge d'elire being sent over, he was elected by the dean and chapter there.

But before his going over, and while bishop-elect, a parliament was convened at Westminster, and began on the first of February, 1620; and I find this passage among some of his memorandums of that time: viz.

"I was appointed by the lower house of parliament to preach at St. Margaret's, Westminster, on the seventh of February. The prebends claimed the privilege of the church, and their exemption from episcopal jurisdiction for many hundred years, and offered their own service: whereupon the house being displeased, appointed the place to be at the Temple. I was chosen a second time; and secretary Calvert, by the appointment of the

the House, spake to the king, that their choice of their preacher might stand. The king said, 'It was very well done.'

"On the thirteenth of February, being Shrove-Tuesday, I dined at court; and, betwixt four and five, I kissed the king's hand, and had conference with him touching my sermon. He said I had charge of an unruly flock to look unto the next Sunday. He asked me how I thought it could stand with true divinity, that so many hundreds should be tyed, upon so short warning, to receive the communion upon a day; all could not be in charity, after so late contentions in the house; many must needs come without preparation, and eat their own condemnation; that himself required all his whole household to receive the communion, but not all the same day, unless at Easter, when the whole Lent was a time of preparation. He bad me to tell them, I hoped they were all prepared, but wished they might be better; to exhort them to unity and concord; to love God first, and then their prince and country; to look to the urgent necessities of the times, and the miserable state of Christendom, with, *Bis dat, qui cito dat*.

"On the tenth of February, the first Sunday in Lent, I preached at St. Margaret's to them; and, on the twenty-seventh, the house sent Sir James Perrot, and Mr. Drake, to give me thanks, and to desire me to print the sermon; which was done accordingly; the text being
upon

upon the first of the Cor. x. 17, 'For we, being many, are one bread and one body; for we are all partakers of that one bread.'

This sermon was preached by the desire of the house, and, with one more, (preached before the king at Wanstead, on the twentieth of January, 1624, upon Eph. iv. 13, concerning the unity of the catholic faith) were all the sermons I can find to have been published by his allowance. But the lord-bishop elect returning some time after into Ireland, was there consecrated by Dr. Hampton, then lord-primate, assisted with some other of the bishops. About which time some violent Papists of quality happened to be censured in the castle-chamber at Dublin, for refusing to take the oaths of supremacy and allegiance.

Upon this occasion, the state ordered the bishop of Meath, on the day of sentence, to make a speech to them, as well to inform their consciences of the lawfulness of it, as of the great penalties they would undergo, if they persisted to refuse it; which he performed in a learned discourse, and it was highly approved of by his majesty.

After the bishop had been in Ireland about two years, it pleased king James to employ him to write the Antiquities of the British Church; and, that he might have the better opportunity and means for that end, he sent over a letter to the lord-deputy and council of Ireland, commanding them to grant a license for his being absent from his see. Upon which

which summons the bishop came over into England, and spent about a year in consulting the best manuscripts in both universities and private libraries, in order to the perfecting that noble work, *De Primordiis Britannicarum*, though it was not published till above two years after, when we shall take occasion to speak thereof more at large.

After his coming over again, he was for some time engaged in answering the bold challenge of Malone, an Irish jesuit, of the college of Lorrain; which treatise he finished and published this year, 1624, in Ireland.

After the bishop had published this treatise, he returned again into England, to give his last hand to his said work *De Primordiis*; and, being now busied about it, the archbishopric of Armagh became vacant by the death of Dr. Hampton, the late archbishop; not long after which, the king was pleased to nominate the bishop of Meath, though there were divers competitors, as the fittest person for that great charge and high dignity of the church, in respect of his own great merits and services done unto it; and, not long after, he was elected archbishop by the dean and chapter there.

The next testimony he received of his majesty's favour, was his letter to a person of quality in Ireland, who had newly obtained the custodiam of the temporalities of that see, forbidding him to meddle with, or receive, any of the rents, or profits, of the same; but immediately

mediately to deliver what he had already received unto the receivers of the present archbishop, since he was here employed in his majesty's special service, &c.

Not long after this favour, it pleased God to take king James, of pious memory, out of this world; nor was his successor less kind unto him than his father had been; which he signified not long after his coming to the crown, by a letter under his privy-signet to the lord-deputy, and treasurer of the realm of Ireland, That, whereas the present archbishop of Armagh had, for many years together, on several occasions, performed many painful and acceptable services to his dear father deceased, and upon his special directions, That therefore he was pleased, as a gracious acceptance thereof, and in consideration of his said services done, or to be done hereafter, to bestow upon the said primate, out of his princely bounty, four hundred pounds, English, out of the revenues of that kingdom.

But, before the return of the archbishop into Ireland, we shall here mention an accident that happened about this time: viz. That, in November, 1625, he was invited by the lord Mordaunt, and his lady, to my lord's house, at Drayton, in Northamptonshire, to confer with a priest he then kept, by the name of Béaumont, upon the points in dispute between the church of Rome and ours; and, particularly, that the religion maintained
by

by public authority, in the church of England, was no new religion, but the same that was taught by our Saviour and his apostles; and ever continued in the primitive church during the purest times.

What was the issue of this dispute, we must take from the report of my lord and lady, and other persons of quality there present: That this conference held for several days, and at last ended with that satisfaction to them both, and confusion of his adversary, that, as it confirmed the lady in her religion, (whom her lord, by the means of this priest, endeavoured to pervert) so it made his lordship so firm a convert to the protestant religion, that he lived and died in it.

When the lord-primate had dispatched his affairs in England, he then returned to be enthroned in Ireland, having, before his going over, received many congratulatory letters from the lord viscount Falkland, then lord-deputy, the lord Loftus, then lord-chancellor, the lord archbishop of Dublin, and divers others of the most considerable of the bishops and nobility of that kingdom, expressing their high satisfaction for his promotion to the primacy.

Being now returned into his native country, anno 1626, and settled in this great charge, having not only many churches but dioceses under his care, he began carefully to inspect his own diocese first, and the manners and abilities

abilities of those of the clergy, by frequent personal visitations ; admonishing those he found faulty, and giving excellent advice and directions to the rest, charging them to use the Liturgy of the church in all public administrations, and to preach and catechise diligently in their respective cures, and to make the holy scripture the rule, as well as the subject, of their doctrine and sermons. Nor did he only endeavour to reform the clergy, (among whom, in so large a diocese, and where there was small encouragements, there could not but be many things amiss) but also the proctors, apparitors, and other officers of his ecclesiastical courts, against whom there were many great complaints of abuses and exactions in his predecessor's time ; nor did he find that popery and prophaneness had increased in that kingdom by any thing more than the neglect of due catechising and preaching ; for want of which instruction, the poor people, that were outwardly Protestants, were very ignorant of the principles of religion ; and the Papists continued still in a blind obedience to their leaders : therefore he set himself, with all his power, to redress these neglects, as well by his own example as by his ecclesiastical discipline ; all which proving, at last, too weak for so inveterate a disease, he obtained his majesty's injunctions to strengthen his authority.

The winter after his coming over, there were some propositions made, and offered to be assented unto by the Papists, for a more full tolleration of their religion: viz. the maintaining five hundred horse and five thousand foot (wherein the Protestants must have borne some share also) for the consideration of which, a great assembly of the whole nation, both Papists and Protestants, was called by the then lord-deputy Falkland.

The meeting was in the hall of the castle of Dublin. The bishops, by the lord-primate's invitation, met first at his house; and both he and they then unanimously drew up and subscribed a protestation against the toleration of popery; which, at the next meeting of the assembly, on the twenty-third of April, 1627, he published at Christ church, before the lord-deputy and council, in the midst of his sermon; wherein he spake much against men's subordinating religion, and the keeping of a good conscience, to outward and worldly respects; and to set their souls to sale for the gain of earthly matters, &c.

The lord primate, the next lord's day, preached before the same auditory; the text was, 1 John v. 15. "Love not the world, nor the things that are in the world;" when he made the like application with the bishop, rebuking such, who for worldly ends, like Judas, would sell Christ for thirty pieces of silver. The judgment of the bishops prevailed so much with the protestants, that the proposals

propofals were drove on very heavily : but yet upou ferious confideration, when it was found that the weak and diftrafted condition of the kingdom, could not well fubfift without fome ftanding forces, it was refolved by the lord-deputy and council, that the lord primate (then a privy-counfellor) fhould, in regard of his great efteem with all parties, declare in a fpeech to the whole afsembly, the true ftate of the kingdom, and the neceffity of a ftanding army for the defence thereof, againft any foreign invafion, or intefine commotions, and confequently that a competent fupply was needful to be granted for that purpofe, and that without any conditions whatfoever, as well by the Roman catholics, as proteftant fubjects; which fpeech, though it had not the defired effect, yet fufficiently declared the lord-primate's abilities in matters of government, whenever he would give his mind to them, and how well he underftood the prefent ftate of that kingdom : and it had been well for Ireland, if his advice had been then hearkened to, fince thofe ftanding forces then moved for being to have been all proteftants; would in all probability have prevented that rebellion that fome years afterwards broke out in that kingdom ; but a copy of this fpeech being defired by the lord deputy, was tranfmitted to his majefty, who very well approved it, as much conducing to his fervice, and the public fafety.

After

After his being archbishop he laid out a great deal of money in books, laying aside every year a considerable sum for that end ; and especially for the procuring of manuscripts, as well from foreign parts as near at hand, having about this time, by the means of Mr. Thomas Davis, then merchant at Aleppo, procured one of the first Samaritan pentateuchs that ever was brought into these western parts of Europe (as Mr. Selden, and Dr. Walton acknowledge) as also the Old Testament in Syriac, much more perfect than had hitherto been seen in these parts ; together with other manuscripts of value. This pentateuch, with the rest, were borrowed from him by Dr. Walton, afterwards bishop of Chester, and by him made use of in the Polyglot Bible : all which manuscripts being afterwards retrieved out of the hands of the said bishop's executors, are now in the Bodleyan library at Oxford ; a fit repository for such sacred monuments.

About this time the lord viscount Falkland, being recalled from being deputy of Ireland, was waited on by the lord primate to the sea-side, of whom taking his leave, and begging his blessing, he set sail for England, having before contracted an intimate friendship with the lord primate, which lasted till his death ; nor did the lord primate fail to express his friendship to him on all occasions after his departure, doing his utmost by letters to several of the lords of his majesty's privy-council here, for his vindication from several
false

false accusations, which were then laid to his charge by some of the Irish nation, before his majesty; which letters, together with the vindication of the council of Ireland, by their letter to his majesty of his just and equal government, did very much contribute to the clearing of his innocence in those things whereof he was then accused. Anno 1631, my lord primate published at Dublin his history of Gotteschalcus, and of the Predestinarian Controversy stirred by him (being the first Latin book that was ever printed in Ireland). Wherein, after a short account of Pelagianism, which had then much spread itself in Spain, and Britain, he proceeds to the history of Gotteschalcus (a monk of the abbey of Orbais, who lived in the beginning of the ninth century) and his opinions, shewing, out of Flodoardus, and other approved writers of that age, that the points then held by this learned monk, and that were then laid to his charge by Hincmar archbishop of Rhemes, and Rabanus archbishop of Mentz; and which they got condemned in a synod held in that city, as also in another at Quierzy, were, notwithstanding, defended and maintained by Remigius (or St. Remy) archbishop of Lyons, and the church of that diocese, as consonant to the scriptures and writings of the fathers. And in the conclusion, my lord there shews the great constancy of this poor monk, who, notwithstanding his cruel whippings, and long imprisonment, to which he had been condemned

demned, by the council of Mentz, till his death, yet he would never recant, but made two confessions of his faith, which are there set down, and by which it appears, that many things were laid to his charge, and condemned in these councils, which he never held. In this treatise, as the lord primate has shewn himself excellently well skilled in the church-history of those dark and ignorant ages; so he there concludes, that men should not dogmatize in these points.

The lord primate having now sat archbishop sixteen years, with great satisfaction, and benefit to the church, about the beginning of this year, came into England with his wife and family, intending to tarry here a year, or more, about his private affairs, and then to return again: but it pleased God to disappoint him in those resolutions, for he never saw his native country again; not long after his coming to London (when he had kissed his majesty's hand, and been received by him with his wonted favour) he went to Oxford, as well to be absent from those heats and differences, which then happened in that short parliament, as also with greater freedom to pursue his studies in the libraries there, where he was accommodated with lodgings in Christ church, by Dr. Morice, canon of that house, and Hebrew professor; and whilst he was there, he conversed with the most learned persons in that famous university, who used him with all due respect, whilst he continued with them;

So after he had resided there some time, he returned again to London, where, after the sitting of that long, and unhappy parliament, he made it his business, as well by preaching, as writing, to exhort them to loyalty, and obedience to their prince; endeavouring, to the utmost of his power, to heal up those breaches, and reconcile those differences, that were ready to break out, both in church and state; though it did not meet with that success he always desired. That unhappy dispute between his majesty and the two houses, concerning his passing the bill for the earl of Strafford's attainder, now arising, and he, much perplexed and divided between the clamour of a discontented people and unsatisfied conscience, thought fit to advise with some of his bishops, what they thought he ought to do in point of conscience (as he had before consulted his judges in matters of law) among which his majesty thought fit to make choice of the lord primate for one, though without his seeking or knowledge; but since some men, either out of spleen, or because they would not retract from what they had once written from vulgar report, have thought fit to publish, as if the lord primate should advise the king to sign the bill for the said earl's attainder, it will not be amiss to give you here that relation which Dr. Bernard had under his own hand; and has printed in the funeral sermon by him published; which was as followeth.

“That Sunday morning wherein the king consulted with the four bishops (of London,

Durham, Lincoln, and Carlisle) the archbishop of Armagh was not present, being then preaching (as he then accustomed himself every Sunday to do) in the church of Covent-Garden; where a message coming unto him from his majesty, he descended from the pulpit, and told him that brought it, he was then (as he saw) employed about God's business; which as soon as he had done, he would attend upon the king, to understand his pleasure: but the king spending the whole afternoon in the serious debate of the lord Strafford's case, with the lords of his council, and the judges of the land, he could not before evening be admitted to his majesty's presence. There the question was again agitated, "Whether the king in justice, might pass the bill of attainder against the earl of Strafford (for that he might shew mercy to him was no question at all) no man doubting but that the king, without the least scruple of conscience, might have granted him a pardon, if other reasons of state (in which the bishops were made neither judges, nor advisers) did not hinder him.

The whole result therefore of the determination of the bishops was to this effect; that therein the matter of fact, and matter of law, were to be distinguished: that of the matter of fact, he himself might make a judgement, having been present at all proceedings against the said earl; where, if upon hearing the allegations on either side, he did not conceive him guilty of the crimes wherewith he was charged, he

could not in justice condemn him: but for the matter in law, what was treason, and what was not, he was to rest in the opinion of the judges; whose office it was to declare the law, and who were sworn therein to carry themselves indifferently betwixt him and his subjects: which gave his majesty occasion to complain of the dealing of the judges with him not long before: That having earnestly pressed them to declare in particular, what part of the lord of Strafford's charge they judged to be treasonable (for as much as upon the hearing of the proof produced, he might in his conscience, perhaps, find him guiltless of that fact) he could not by any means draw them to nominate any in particular, but that upon the whole matter, treason might justly be charged upon him. And in this second meeting, it was observed, that the bishop of London spoke nothing at all, but the bishop of Lincoln not only spake, but put a writing into the king's hand, wherein, what was contained, the rest of his brethren knew not."

Not many months after the execution of the unfortunate earl of Strafford, there came over the unhappy news of the breaking out of the horrid Irish rebellion, in which, as his majesty's (with the English and protestant) interest in that kingdom, received an inexpressible blow, so likewise the lord primate bore too great a share in that common affliction; for in a very few days the rebels had plundered his house in the country, seized on his rents, quite ruin-
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ed, or destroyed his tenements, killed, or drove away his numerous flocks, and herds of cattle, to very great value; and, in a word, had not left him any thing in that kingdom, which escaped their fury, but his library, and some furniture in his house at Drogheda, which were secured by the strength of that place, notwithstanding a long and dangerous siege by those rebels; which library was some years after conveyed over to Chester, and from thence to London: this must needs reduce him to a very low condition, happening not long after Michaelmas, when he expected a return of his rents, so that he was forced, for his present supply, to sell or pawn all the plate and jewels he had; this, though a very great tryal, yet made not any change in his temper, still submitting to providence, with Christian patience. Yet these afflictions were sufficient to move compassion, even in the breasts of foreigners; for, some months after his losses, the city, and university of Leyden offered to chuse him their honorary professor, with a more ample stipend, than had been formerly annexed to that place: and Dr. Bernard, in his above-cited sermon, likewise tells us, that cardinal Richlieu did, about the same time, make him an invitation to come into France, with a promise of a very noble pension, and freedom of his religion there; and that this is not unlikely may be proved from the great honour that cardinal had for him, which he expressed by a letter full

of kindness and respect, accompanied with a gold medal of considerable value, having his own effigies stamped upon it, which is still preserved; these were sent him upon his publishing his work, *De Primordiis Ecclesiarum Britanicarum*, which present was also returned by the lord primate, by a letter of thanks, with a handsome present of Irish grey-hounds, and other rarities which that country afforded. But it pleased his majesty to provide for him much better in England, by conferring on him the bishopric of Carlisle (then void by the death of Dr. Potter) to hold in commendam; this, though very much abated by the Scotch and English armies quartering upon it, as also by the unhappy wars which not long after followed; yet he made shift to subsist upon it, with some other helps, until that rebellious house of commons seized upon all bishopslands; and though, in consideration of his great losses in Ireland; as also of his own merits, and to make him some satisfaction for what they took away, they voted him a pension of four hundred pounds per annum, yet I cannot hear that he ever received it above once, or twice at most; for the Independent faction getting uppermost, soon put an end to that payment.

His majesty having now left London, by reason of the tumults there, and the undutifulness of the house of commons towards him, the lord primate being more deeply afflicted for those breaches, than for all his own sufferings,

ings, having now no more satisfaction in abiding longer in London, he resolved to remove thence for Oxford, not long before his majesty's coming thither : and here, though the lord primate's outward condition was much lessened, to what it was before, yet his greatness being founded upon a more solid bottom than riches, and outward splendor, he was received with the same, or rather greater kindness and respect than before.

The reverend Dr. Prideaux, bishop of Worcester (his good friend) lent him his house adjoining to Exeter-college, which he accepted of, as being near his business at the public library, where he now pursued his studies, preparing divers treatises for the public view, some of which he also printed there, nor did he less endeavour to be serviceable to men's souls, than to the commonwealth of learning, preaching commonly at one church or other, every sunday, and for great part of the time, in the forenoons, sometimes at St. Olaves, and sometimes at Alhallows, where he had constantly a great audience, both of scholars and others ; where, notwithstanding the learnedness of most of his hearers, he rather chose a plain substantial way of preaching, for the promoting of piety and virtue, than studied eloquence, or a vain ostentation of learning ; so that he quite put out of countenance that windy, affected sort of oratory, which was then

then much in use, called florid preaching, or strong lines.

This summer the lord primate was nominated (though against his desire) to be one of the assembly of divines at Westminster, as were also Dr. Browning, bishop of Exeter; Dr. Westfield, bishop of Bristol, and divers others of the orthodox clergy, but the lord primate neither approved of the authority that named him, nor yet of the business they met about; so that he never troubled himself to go thither; but when that mock assembly found he scorned to come among them, they complained of him to the house of commons, who soon voted him out again; which yet the archbishop took more kindly, than their chusing him into it; and now when this prevalent faction, sitting at Westminster, found that the archbishop was not for their turn, but to the contrary, had in divers sermons at Oxford, preached against their rebellious proceedings, they were so enraged at him, that the committee they had appointed for delinquent's estates (as they nick-named those who now faithfully served their prince) made an order for the seizing of a study of books of a considerable value, which he had either brought over with him, or bought here, and were left behind in Chelsea-college, which were seized accordingly, and had been sold by them, had not Dr. Featly, who was then in some favour with them, by reason of his being one that
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set in that assembly (though otherwise orthodox, and loyal) made an interest with them, by the means of Mr. Selden (a member of the house, as also of the assembly) to obtain those books for his own use, either as a gift, or by laying down some money for them; and so got them into his hands, and secured them for my lord primate's use, at least as many of them as were not embezzled, or stolen away whilst they were in their custody, as amongst other things divers papers and collections of his own writing, with all his letters, either to, or from his learned friends (which he had left behind him there) were then plundered.

And now it being given out, that Oxford would soon be besieged, and that the king would speedily quit that place, the lord primate was advised by his friends (if it were possible to be avoided) not to run that hazard, and therefore having been before invited by his son-in-law, Sir Timothy Tirrel (who had married his only daughter) to come to them at Caerdiffe in Wales (where the said Sir Timothy was then governor, and general of the ordnance, under the lord Gerard, lieutenant-general of his majesty's forces in South Wales) the lord primate resolved to accept that invitation, and so having taken leave of his majesty, he, with his approbation, took the opportunity of waiting upon his highness the prince of Wales as far as Bristol, and from thence he went to Caerdiffe, where his son and daughter welcomed him, with all that joy

and affection which so good a father, after so long an absence, could expect.

Here he stayed almost a year, free from the dangers of war, this being a strong garrison, and well manned, which invited many persons of quality to come thither for safety, so that the lord primate had a good opportunity to pursue his studies, having brought many chests of books along with him; and he now made a great progress in the first part of his annals.

Whilst he was at Caerdiffe, his majesty, after the fatal battle of Naseby, came into Wales, to my lord marquis of Worcester's, at Ragland; and from thence to Caerdiffe, where he stayed some days; and the lord-primate then enjoyed the satisfaction, though upon a sad occasion, of his majesty's excellent conversation in the same house, who received him with his wonted kindness and favour.

Whilst he was there, the lord-primate preached before him in the castle; and, when his majesty went away, and that the lord-primate had taken his leave of him, he declared, that nothing came nearer to his heart than the imminent danger of the king and church, with the effusion of so much Christian blood.

His majesty's necessities now not permitting him to leave many men in garrisons, he was forced to unfurnish this, as well as others, of its soldiers and ammunition; so that Sir Timothy Tyrrel was forced to quit that government

ment; by reason of which, the archbishop, being forced to remove, was in a great strait whither to go, the ways from thence to Oxford being all cut off by the enemy; so that he had some thoughts, being near the sea, of going over into France, or Holland; to both which places he had been before invited, as hath been already mentioned: but, whilst he was in this perplexity, the lady-dowager Stradling sent him a kind invitation to come to her castle of St. Donates as soon as he pleased; which he accepted as a great favour: but, by the time he was ready to go, with his daughter, the lady Tyrrel, the country thereabouts was up in arms, in a tumultuous manner, to the number of ten thousand, as was supposed, who chose themselves officers to form them in a body, pretending for the king, but yet would not be governed by English commanders, or suffer any English garrisons in the country.

This gave the lord-primate a fresh disturbance, the Welsh men lying upon the ways between that place and St. Donates: but there were some at that time in Caerdiffe, who would needs undertake to convey the lord-primate, and his company, through bye-ways, so that he might avoid this tumultuous rabble; which, though it might be well advised by the then governor of Caerdiffe, and was faithfully enough executed by them that undertook it, yet happened very ill for my lord and those that were with him; for going by some private ways near the mountains, they

fell into a straggling party that were scouting thereabouts, who soon led them to their main body, where it was crime enough they were English; so that they immediately fell to plundering and breaking open the lord-primate's chests of books and other things which he then had with him; ransacking all his manuscripts and papers, many of them of his own hand-writing; and, not content with this, they pulled the lord primate, and his daughter and other ladies from their horses; all which the lord-primate bore with his wonted patience, and a seeming unconcernedness: but now some of their officers coming in (which were of the gentry of the country) seemed very much ashamed of this barbarous treatment, and by force, or fair means, caused their horses and other things, which were taken from them, to be restored; but as for the books and papers, they were got into too many hands to be then retrieved; nor were these gentlemen satisfied with this, but some of them very civilly conducted him through the rest of this tumultuous rabble, to Sir John Aubery's house, not far off, where he was civilly received, and lodged that night. The next day divers of the neighbouring gentry and clergy came to visit him, and to condole this irreparable loss; promising to do their utmost endeavours, that what books or papers were not burnt or torn, should be restored; and so very civilly waited on him to St. Donates; and to let you see that these gentlemen

gentlemen and ministers, did not only promise so, but were also able to perform it, they used their power with the people, publishing in the churches all over those parts, that all that had any such books, or papers, should bring them to their ministers, or landlords, which they accordingly did; so that in two or three months there were brought in to him, by parcels, all his books and papers, so fully, that being put all together there were found not many wanting.

Whilst the lord primate was at St. Donates, he spent his time chiefly in looking over the books and manuscripts in the library in that castle, and which had been collected by Sir Edward Stradling, a great antiquary, and friend of Mr. Camden's; and out of these manuscripts the lord primate made many choice collections of the British, or Welch antiquity.

Within a little more than a month after my lord primate's coming hither, he was taken with a sharp and dangerous illness, which began at first with a stranguary and suppression of urine, with extremity of torture, which at last caused a violent bleeding at the nose, for near forty hours together; without any considerable intermission; no means applied could stop it, so that the physicians, and all about him, despaired of his life, till at last (they apprehending he was expiring) it stopped of itself; he lay a good while in a trance; but it is worth the remembering, that whilst he

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he was in the midst of his pain, as also his bleeding, he was still patient, praising God, and resigning up himself to his will, and giving all those about him, or that come to visit him, excellent heavenly advice to a holy life, and due preparation for death, e're its agonies seized them; saying, it is a dangerous thing to leave all undone, till our last sickness; I fear a death-bed repentance will avail us little, if we have lived vainly, and viciously, and neglected our conversion, till we can sin no longer: and then, said he, you will find the comfort of it at your death: and your change will be happy.

After the lord primate had fully recovered his strength at St. Donates, and been most kindly entertained, and tenderly used during his great weakness, by the lady of that place, he began to consider where next to remove, but the king's affairs growing every day more desperate, and Oxford like speedily to be taken, there was no returning thither; nor yet had he mind to trust himself at London, the faction there being very much exasperated against him; therefore he began to reassume his former thoughts of passing beyond the seas, and upon this endeavoured to get a vessel for his transportation (having before obtained a pass from the earl of warwick, then admiral, for that purpose) but when he had a vessel prepared for him, there came into the road, before Caerdiffe, a squadron of ships, under the command of one Molton, vice-admiral

miral for the parliament: whereupon the lord primate sent to him (being then ashore at Caerdiffe) to know if he would suffer him to go by him; and shewed him the pass above-mentioned, to which Molton returned a rude, and threatning answer, absolutely refusing it, and saying, if he could get him into his hands, he would send him a prisoner to the parliament; by which you may see how highly enraged those of that faction were against this good bishop, for adhering to the king. He being thus disappointed in his design, attempted it no farther. And not long after came to him a most kind invitation from that noble lady, the countess dowager of Peterborough, to come and make his abode with her, and she would engage that he should not be molested, but have all accommodations suitable to his condition, and the great affection and esteem she had for him, as a return for those benefits she had formerly received from him, in converting her lord, and securing herself from popery; as has been already related; so, after some consideration, he thought 'fit to accept this kind offer; and after having obtained passes for his journey, he left St. Donates, after almost a year's residence there. But it must not be forgotten, that before he left Wales, the great expences of his sickness, and removals in the year past, had much reduced him, as to his purse, nor knew he where to get it supplied; when it pleased God to put it into the hearts of divers worthy persons

persons of that country, to consider that the lord primate had not only suffered much by the rudeness of the rabble (as hath been already related) but also by a long and expensive sickness: so they sent him, unknown to each other, divers considerable sums; so that he had in a few weeks enough to supply all his present occasions, and also to defray the expences of his journey into England. This the good bishop accounted a special providence, and was very thankful for it.

So the lord primate arrived safe at the countess of Peterborough's house in London, in June following, where he was most kindly received by her; and from this time he commonly resided with her, at some or other of her houses, till his death: where now he met with a fresh disturbance: there was an order of parliament, that whosoever should come from any of the king's garrisons, to London, must signify their names to the committee at Goldsmiths-hall, and there give notice of their being in town, and where they lodged. Accordingly, June the eighteenth, he sent to Goldsmiths-hall to acquaint them, that he was in town, and at the countess of Peterborough's house, but they refused to take notice of his being in town, without his personal appearance; so upon a summons sent from the committee of examinations at Westminster, he appeared before them (being advised by his friends so to do) they strictly examined him, where he had been ever since his departure
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from London, and whether he had any leave for his going from London to Oxford ; he answered, he had a pass from a committee of both houses ; they demanded farther, whether Sir Charles Coote or any other, ever desired him to use his power with the king, for a toleration of religion in Ireland ? He answered, that neither Sir Charles Coote, nor any other, ever moved any such thing to him, but that as soon as he heard of the Irish agent's coming to Oxford, he went to the king, and beseeched his majesty not to do any thing with the Irish, in point of religion, without his knowledge : which his majesty promised he would not ; and when the point of toleration came to be debated at the council-board, the king, with all the lords there, absolutely denied it ; and he professed for his part, that he was ever against it, as a thing dangerous to the protestant religion : having answered these queries, the chairman of the committee offered him the negative oath (which had been made on purpose for all those that had adhered to the king, or came from any of his garrisons) but he desired time to consider of that, and so he was dismissed, and appeared no more ; for Mr. Selden, and others of his friends in the house, made use of their interest to put a stop to that trouble. Not long after this, he retired with the countess of Peterborough to her house at Rygate in Surry, where he often preached, either in her chapel, or in the parish church of that place, and always whilst he continued

continued there, frequently resorted to him many of the best of the gentry and clergy thereabouts, as well to enjoy his excellent conversation, as for his opinion and advice in matters of religion.

About the beginning of this year, 1647, he was chosen by the honourable society of Lincoln's-inn, to be their preacher, which, after some solicitations, he accepted, and the treasurer, and benchers of that house (whereof his good friend Mr. Hales, since lord chief justice, was one) ordered him handsome lodgings, ready furnished; as also divers rooms for his library, which was about this time brought up from Chester.

Here he was most kindly received, and treated with all respect and honour, constantly preaching all the time for almost eight years, till, at last, his eye-sight and teeth began to fail him, so that he could not be well heard in so large a congregation, he was forced, about a year and a half before his death, to quit that place, to the great trouble of that honourable society.

After the lord primate had gone and taken his last leave of his majesty, at Carisbrook castle, in the Isle of Wight, he returned to Southampton, in order to his going towards London; where he was kindly received by the chief of the town, and withal entreated to preach there the next day, being Sunday; but when he thought of complying with their desire, the governor of the garrison hearing of it,

it, came to the lord-primate, and told him, He had been informed, he intended to preach on the morrow; to which he answered, Yes, 'twas true. He replied, that it might be, at that time, of ill consequence to the place, and therefore wished him to forbear, for they could not permit it.

Not long after his return to London, his majesty was brought up thither as a prisoner by the army, in order to that wicked piece of pagantry which they called his tryal; and now, too soon after, came that fatal thirtieth of January, (never to be mentioned, or thought on, by all good men, without grief and detestation) on which was perpetuated the most execrable villainy, under the pretence of justice, that ever was acted since the world began; a king murdered by his own subjects, before his own palace, in the face of the sun: for which the lord-primate was so deeply sensible and afflicted, that he kept that day as a private fast so long as he lived.

After the sad tragedy of his majesty's death, the government (if it may be so called, was managed by a corrupt oligarchy, until Oliver Cromwell turned them out and set himself up for protector, by the help of his army and creatures, though with equal tyranny and arbitrariness as the former.

We cannot now omit to take notice, that Oliver Cromwell, to make the world believe that he did not persecute men for religion, had for some time before this shewed favour to some
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of the orthodox clergy; so that it is the less wonder if he also sent for the lord-primate to come to him, who was at first unwilling to go; but considering that his refusal would but exasperate him, he went accordingly, and was received by Cromwell with great outward kindness and civility, and promised the archbishopric of Armagh for twenty-one years, which my lord-primate thought it no harm to accept. But Cromwell relenting of his promise, delayed passing the grant as long as the lord-primate lived; and, by an imputation of malignancy to the lord-primate's son-in-law and daughter, he freed himself from that promise.

Cromwell being now highly enraged against the loyal party, began now to discharge part of his rage upon the orthodox clergy, forbidding them, under great penalties, to teach schools, or to perform any part of their ministerial function: whereupon some of the most considerable episcopal clergy desired the lord-primate that he would use his interest with Cromwell to allow them the freedom of serving God in their private congregations, according to the Liturgy of the church of England: which, agreeable to their desire, he did; and was at last promised that they should not be molested if they meddled not with matters relating to his government; but, when the lord-primate went to get this promise ratified, he said, that he had since considered it in council, and found it not safe for him to grant liberty

liberty of conscience to those sort of men who were restless and implacable enemies to him and his government; and so taking a courteous leave of the lord primate, he left him without doubt that it was in vain to urge his suit any farther.

Not long after this, viz. about the middle of February following, he went from London to Rygate, taking his last leave of his friends and relations, who never had the happiness of seeing him again: and, not long before his death, Dr. Parr preaching a sermon there, where this good bishop was present, after church he was pleased to confer with him in private, and spake to this effect:

“ I thank you for your sermon, I am going out of this world, and I now desire, according to your text (Col. iii. 12.) to seek those things which are above, where Christ sitteth on the right hand of God; and to be with him in heaven.”

So that all his discourse was of heavenly things, as if his better part had been there already, freed from the body and all terrene affections; and he seemed as if he were seriously considering his spiritual state, and making ready for his departure, which he now shortly expected; for, on the twentieth of March, the day he fell sick, after he had been most part of it, as long as he had light, at his study, he went from thence to visit a gentlewoman then sick in the house, giving her most excellent preparatives for death, together with other
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Only advised for almost an hour, that night, after supper, he first complained of his hip, judging it to be a touch of the sciatica, which he had many years before. Next morning early he complained of a great pain in his side; and, a physician being sent for, he prescribed what he thought convenient in that case; but it could not thereby be removed, but rather increased more and more upon him.

Upon some abatement of the torture, he advised those about him to provide for death in the time of health, that then they might have nothing else to do but to die. Then taking his leave of the countess of Peterborough, by whom he had been so long and kindly entertained, and giving her many thanks for all her kindness to him, with excellent spiritual counsel, as a return for all her favours.

Then he desired to be left to his own private devotions; after which, the last words he was heard to utter, about one o'clock in the afternoon, praying for forgiveness of sins, were these: viz. O Lord forgive me, especially my sins of omission! So presently after this, in sure hopes of a glorious immortality, he fell asleep, to the great grief and affliction of the said countess, who could never sufficiently lament her own and the church's great loss, by his too sudden departure out of this life.

END OF THE SIXTH VOLUME.

